The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

VOL. XXXVIII (No. 12) DECEMBER, 1924 No. 823

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Entered as Second-Class Matter March 26, 1887, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879.
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CONFERENCE ON LIVING RELIGIONS OF THE EMPIRE

From left to right: Rev. Tyssul Davis; Dr. Margoliouth; Sir Francis Younghusband; Sir Thomas Arnold (Vice-Chairman); Sir E. Denison Ross (Chairman); Mr. Victor Branford (Vice-Chairman); Mr. W. Loftus Hare (Hon. Secretary); Mr. Channing.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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EDITORIAL

One of the objects for which THE OPEN COURT was founded was that of fostering the Religious Parliament Idea. Much has happened since the first Parliament of this kind was held in Chicago in 1893. At that time only a few pioneers of human unity foresaw the possibility that a new science—the science of comparative religion—might one day be born. It seemed incredible that men might achieve more light and less heat, and so reach a stage at which they could study with sympathetic understanding the beliefs of those outside their own faiths. "It has been claimed," wrote Dr. Paul Carus, in THE MONIST for 1893, "that it is impossible to study religious subjects with impartiality." But he added, "we must make it possible." To that end this magazine has been dedicated. The winning of this power of dispassionate study has not been easy; nor is the battle completely won, for all men and women, even now. Speakers at Conferences of Religions have not always been able to refrain from exalting their own religion above others; but at the London Conference of Living Religions within the Empire it was notable that no single instance of this occurred. Each of the speakers, with the utmost variety of view and belief, scrupulously confined himself to a plain statement of what his religion was, and of what he personally found in it of help and guidance. No doubt the tendency towards unity in the Christian churches has formed a basis for toleration of other beliefs, and even laid the foundation for the appreciation of the special good in other faiths; but many other civilizing influences have played their part. It is, indeed, the mark of a truly civilized society that its members possess sufficiently balanced and controlled personalities to be able to tolerate those with fundamentally different beliefs from their own. Under the variations they see the common human stuff. Nay, by their frank and unheated acceptance of difference they assert a fundamental human

solidarity. We hope that the account of the London Conference to which the greater portion of this number of THE OPEN COURT is devoted will serve as a call to action in America. Conferences have been held, since the Chicago meeting, in Paris, Basel, Oxford, Leiden, and now London. The circle would be completed by another Parliament of Religions in America. We have spoken of civilizing forces; but there are also in our modern world forces of division and ignorance. In the battle against these all men and women of goodwill must be enlisted.

A PARLIAMENT OF LIVING RELIGIONS

An Account of the "Conference on Some Living Religions Within the Empire," Held at the Imperial Institute, London, September 22nd to October 3rd, 1924.

BY WILLIAM LOFTUS HARE

I. Introductory

IN WRITING about anything faintly resembling The World's Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in 1893, it is inevitable that one should go back in thought to that great event, even though to do so may seem to Americans like "carrying coals to Newcastle." Time, however, has brought with it a new generation, one which—if I may venture to speculate—hardly goes back in its reminiscence to 1893, and can afford to be reminded of a great historic incident. Many influences led to the attempt to hold a Congress in which, not the votaries of one faith or sect alone should assemble, but the representatives of many. The most potent of these influences was undoubtedly the general *zeitgeist* of the nineties.

The hopes fostered by the Great Exhibition of 1851 had been largely disappointed. The world of humanity had not been brought into a haven of peace by the process of buying and selling of merchandise; it had, it is true, learned more about its own psychological structure, its diverse political and commercial aims. Science, more than commerce, was uniting men who by many forces were otherwise kept apart; and religion was already fully under the speculative eyes of science, whose glance was partly critical and partly friendly.

The seventies and eighties witnessed the most notable attempt to bring before the peoples the contents of the Sacred Books of the East and the Science of Comparative Religion attained to its second birth. But there was in the nineties a popular and a moral movement towards a greater understanding among peoples—or at least a wish for mutual understanding—which was more influential than

either Commerce or Science; the amateur and the idealist as well as the specialist claimed the right to know, to admire, and to be heard. It was at this moment that "The World's Fair," as it was popularly called, was opened at Chicago in 1893. It had to be, of course, greater than anything else of its kind; and one of its marks of greatness, as of novelty, was "The World's Parliament of Religions."

The objects proposed were as follows:

1. To bring together in conference, for the first time in history, the leading representatives of the great Historic Religions of the world.

2. To show to men, in the most impressive way, what and how many important truths the various religions held and teach in common.

3. To promote and deepen the spirit of human brotherhood among religious men of diverse faiths, through friendly conference and mutual good understanding, while not seeking to foster the temper of indifferentism, and not striving to achieve any formal and outward unity.

4. To set forth, by those most competent to speak, what are deemed the important distinctive truths held and taught by each religion, and by the various chief branches of Christendom.

5. To indicate the impregnable foundations of theism and the reasons for man's faith in immortality, and thus to unite and strengthen the forces which are adverse to a materialistic philosophy of the universe.

6. To secure from leading scholars, representing the Brahman, Buddhist, Confucian, Parsee, Mohammedan, Jewish and other faiths, and from representatives of the various churches of Christendom, full and accurate statements of the spiritual and other effects of the religions which they hold upon the literature, art, commerce, government, domestic and social life of the peoples among whom these faiths have prevailed.

7. To inquire what light each religion has afforded, or may afford, to the other religions of the world.

8. To set forth, for permanent record to be published to the world, an accurate and authoritative account of the present condition and outlook of religion among the leading nations of the earth.

9. To discover, from competent men, what light religion has to throw on the great problems of the present age, especially the important questions connected with temperance, labor, education, wealth and poverty.

10. To bring the nations of the earth into a more friendly fellowship, in the hope of securing permanent international peace.

Special attention should be called to the phraseology of paragraph 5. Readers of *The Open Court* hardly need to be reminded of all that came from that memorable parliament and of the work done in America by Dr. Paul Carus and his colleagues.

Other Congresses

Although there was no constitutional connection between the Chicago meeting and any other gathering of later days it would not be difficult to trace an influence passing from America to Europe. Chicago was a great initiatory experiment from which lessons were learned by those who came to work in a different manner.

The International Congress of the History of Religions has been repeated five times. It was founded in 1900 at Paris and was designed to perpetuate itself by congresses every four years. At Basel in 1904, at Oxford in 1908, at Leiden in 1912, its members foregathered, and but for the tragedy of the war, the fifth congress meeting would, I believe, have been held in Germany. After some years of interruption the congress resumed at Paris last year.

This continuity of existence, as contrasted with the rather ecstatic and unique outburst at Chicago in 1893, indicates that the "International" had discovered a new method. Religion had at last, by common consent among the learned, become one of the hundred and one topics of science. "La science," as the French lecturers speak of her, is a cold and impartial goddess at whose shrine all may worship or at least, bow the head in respect. She asks no confession but imposes *her method* which indeed is her very essence. Henceforth religion is studied, like everything else, methodically. The data are collected with utmost care from observer and from book; history, psychology, art, institution and dogma—with anthropology and archaeology—lend their aid to science. Learned men, rightly enthusiastic in regard to their discoveries, concentrate and specialize more and more, and so an instrument of international learning is placed in the hands of students by which, every four years, or perhaps more often, the richest product of comparative religion may be displayed. To the confessor his religion is left as a personal possession of which the scientist does not rob him; all he asks is to be allowed to study it and to gain his own reward.

Having attended some of these congresses I can testify to the tenderness of "La Science" in the handling of her subjects. This

is the new manner which the congresses for twenty years or more have followed. The motives of adding to our knowledge and of casting a light on moral and social problems has been found all embracing and sufficient.

The World's Fair of 1893 and the Paris Exposition of 1900 with their attendant religious congresses were fitly followed by the latest and largest of them all—the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in 1924. One of its features was the organization of a long series of conferences on all conceivable topics, and it is no surprise that the thought arose in several circles of calling a conference of Empire religions. The great halls were in course of construction and it was foreseen that a fine opportunity would be afforded to attract large audiences from the millions of visitors. It turned out otherwise, however. The exhibition itself revealed in the British people a taste for the visual delights which now go to make up any self-respecting exhibition. Quietly, almost solemnly, enormous crowds trooped through the galleries finishing up, sometimes exhausted, at the more lively quarter of the amusement park. They had not come here for conferences; the many that were held were exotic to Wembley and their audiences specially imported, so to speak. During the summer the exhibition authorities announced that the Conference Halls would be closed ere long. With this encouragement the committee of our conference, while grateful to Wembley for having, as it were, called us into existence, were glad to find a more favorable *venue* in the Imperial Institute at South Kensington. A most appropriate and convenient spot, with certain inconveniences arising from the sudden change.

The Organization of the Conference

I think my readers will probably wish to know something of the process by which the conference was brought to so great a success.

But here I may interject a remark on a subject which interested many of us deeply, as it turned out. We did not plan for "great success." We were unambitious, almost modest in our aims, and careful to attempt nothing which would disgrace us if it should fail. We merely took the means to see that our function should be creditably performed, in the hope that some general good—though undefined—of an intellectual, moral and political character, might be reached. Our duty was to be informative to the British people who are mostly professing Christians, as to the nature and influence of the living sister religions of the Empire. It was not in our stars to

command success nor to claim that we deserved it. We did not lay plans for anything sensational or emotional. Yet great success was showered upon us from that inexhaustible source of good—human personality. The assembled conference from first to last, from platform to tea room, took the plans from our committee's hands and lifted them up to the level of an event of historic importance. I say this as a preliminary to a brief account of the organization of the conference which, as a topic, possesses considerable interest.

Sir E. Denison Ross, Director of the School of Oriental Studies, a branch of the University of London, was good enough to secure from his governing body the permission to work under its auspices; and, soon afterwards members of our small committee drew the Sociological Society into partnership. Thus four members on the staff of the school, three from the society and four additional experts in comparative religion together with the two honorary secretaries and the honorary treasurer, formed the committee. Under the general and wise guidance of Sir Denison Ross in whose room we met, our committee commenced its labors on October 12, 1923. Twelve meetings in all, with a sub-committee and innumerable consultations saw our program prepared and the public duly invited.

The Program

Obviously, the program was not difficult to write out on paper. We had but to make a conspectus of the chief non-Christian religions of the Empire. But to obtain native expositors was no easy task, and for various reasons. Curiously, a prophecy had been circulated in the early days of our work that the political unrest of India would render it impossible for us to obtain Indian speakers or writers of papers. We had been promised a non-co-operating boycott on account of Kenya Colony or some other obscure political grievance. But the fact is we did not meet with these as actual difficulties. The dimensions of time, space and expense were our only obstacles in the matter of getting speakers or writers of papers, and with help from all sides we did our best. The date of the conference had been long fixed and we could not postpone it until our arrangements were perfect.

Living and Dead Religions

The dead religions are in books and monuments and as accessible to students and researches, but they were not our concern. History is a vast field lying behind our sphere and was not to be explored

too deeply by our expositors. Living religions on the contrary are seldom found in books, but more among homes, communities, temples and in the hearts of living men. It was here we had to seek for them and in going in search of silver we found gold—as Dante says of his own good fortune. Naturally, we should like to have found more of it.

I will deal with the individual papers a little later in this article but desire to say a few words on the sections and sub-sections into which our program was divided.

Christianity and Judaism were excluded from our plan for several sufficient reasons—not because, as some critic had not very seriously suggested, we considered them to be "no longer living religions." To have attempted to include the Christian faith in a short conference of single sessions would have involved many difficulties, the first being the invidious choice of expositors. We could not have pleased everybody. Secondly, we should have been instructing the already instructed. Thirdly, it would have been something of an impertinence for us to set up a new pulpit amid the thousands to which people may resort already. In lesser degree the same arguments apply to Judaism, which in its main Biblical features, is very familiar. We had of course, no anti-Christian bias nor had any of our expositors, except in the most formal sense. Practically, the English and the Christian received and returned the utmost friendliness.

We placed Hinduism first on our program for various reasons which are apparent. Two hundred and seventeen millions of our fellow citizens deserved more than one lecture and would have had more if our time for preparation had been extended.

Islam came second on account of its sixty-seven million adherents in the Empire. Islam is more than a faith; it is theoretically a polity which includes and excludes the British Empire simultaneously. We did not meet it in its political aspect but in friendly and tolerant religious attitude of its three notable expositors.

In another way our conference was helped by the power of the voice. Twice the Arab Mufti of the Woking Mosque recited with great power Suras from the Quran, and twice the Sufi Raushan Ali, in lighter tones, chanted from the scriptures and poetry of his faith. The majority, perhaps, did not understand the words but everyone was affected in a strange way by this music of the soul.

Other Moslems who graced our assembly were Mr. Yusuf Ali, once of the Indian Civil Service; Lord Headly who has made the

pilgrimage to Mecca; and Mr. Nazir Ahmad, the Imam of the Woking Mosque. It was a great disappointment to be robbed of the presence of the latter gentleman's distinguished father, Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din who, though absent from the country, had written a fine paper which was read with eloquent diction by Mr. Yusuf Ali. The fez, the turban, the kaftan, the golden coat from India and the quiet robe from Arabia were symbols of variety in unity.

A second group of quiet personalities was provided by the Bahai Assembly, Mr. Ruhi Afnan, the bright-eyed living link with the founder of the movement was there a friend to all comers. Dr. Mountford Mills from Canada, Lady Blomfield and Mr. Simpson from London circulated freely and brought to our conference a quality no plan could command.

Another splendid group of Indians headed by the keen-eyed Pandit Shyam Shankar, Dr. De Silva, Malalasekera and Mr. Sen may be mentioned while the ladies of their company added an unexpected charm by their smiling faces and beautiful costumes. We had also the retiring presence of Mr. Hsü Ti Shan and Mr. Shosan Miyamoto from China and Japan respectively. Several dusky Africans flitted in and out including Mr. Albert Thoka; while Mr. St. Barbe Baker and Mr. Malcolm were often in attendance.

As we had not boycotted Christianity we were not in our turn deprived of its representatives. The clerical collar was seen most days, worn by enthusiastic friends of the conference; Archdeacon Williams and Bishop James both read papers and gave at least an unofficial benediction.

The Officers

Though the conference, out of the richness of its human elements, took possession of itself, officers were needed, and I do not propose to omit here out of false modesty, a reference to the work of my colleagues, Sir Denison Ross, one of the busiest men in the city of London, was in attendance most of the ten days, receiving and conversing as only a great linguist could, with the many foreign visitors. Lady Ross brought a band of musical friends to sweeten our first reception, and the members of the committee, decorated with green and white rosettes, performed various changing functions. The labors of my colleague, Miss Sharples, and myself, had been continuous for months; and, as the conference approached, they became intense. A host of special problems, greater and less, presented themselves with kaleidoscopic rapidity—the hall, acous-

tics, books, tickets, tea, publicity and lastly the press. In all these matters Mr. Victor Branford took a hand with great energy and resource. The gentlemen of the press from India and America were hungry for information and absorbed our careful abstracts with avidity. The leading London dailies gave admirable reports and we were continually being photographed.

Chairmen

The functions of the chair are not easy to perform at these conferences. Though we had decided to eliminate debate, and consequently controversy, we needed capable chairmen. They were asked to inform themselves of the contents of the papers to be read and to supplement those papers, either before or afterwards, with any suitable historical facts. They did their duties well, even when readers were inclined to take more time than was allowed. Dr. Margoliouth and Sir Theodore Morison were particularly helpful in their remarks on Islam, while on the other Indian religions Professor Rapson, Sir Edward Jait, Sir Patrick Fagan, and Mr. G. R. S. Mead left their official duties to assist us. Some of them were continuous in their attendance. Special thanks should be given to Miss Alice Werner, Mr. Rhys Davies and Mr. D. N. Dunlop.

II. SOME LIVING RELIGIONS

The proceedings opened on September 22 with a short speech by Sir E. Denison Ross, C. I. E., Ph.D., in the course of which he proposed that a message of loyal greeting should be sent from the conference to the king. This was done and later in the day a gracious reply was received by telegraph. Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister, also forwarded a kindly letter which was read to the conference. Both telegram and letter evoked hearty applause and gave to our entirely unofficial conference both a royal and an official expression of good will. It is necessary to remember throughout that the subject matter of the conference was the religions of the peoples of the Empire and this accounts for the fact that the conference had a quasi-political orientation—in the sense, at least, of a hope that, under the stimulus of religion, our sister races would come closer together. On this note Sir Francis Younghusband, K. C. S. I., the great traveller, opened his address, of which the following is a brief abstract:

The material development of the British Empire is evident enough, and we are justly proud of the way in which we have opened up the Empire. But while visitors are drawn from all over the Empire to London we who live here wish them to know that we are interested in its spiritual as well as its material development. Included in the Empire are adherents of all the great religions; and though the government has to show strict impartiality between them, their impartiality should not be taken to mean indifference to religion on the part of the British people. . . .

The ultimate basis upon which the British Empire should stand must be Religion. Political constitution and trade agreements are merely the bones. The motive power must be the spirit—and the most exalted spirit. "Even patriotism is not enough." Above and at the base of patriotism and suffusing it through and through must be religion—love of the whole great world in which every nation and all creation are included. And that religion is alive in the world, the papers to be read before this conference will show. In all the great religions, movements are in progress, and men with fiery zeal are reaching after purer forms. . . .

In the process of regenerating and developing religion which is continually at work in mankind there is, there always has been, and there always will be clash and conflict of opinion. And always each will have his own way of worship. Differences will ever exist, and individuals will battle stoutly to maintain them. Nevertheless, there is a unity as well as a diversity—a unity of both inspiration and aspiration. And all will feel actuated by a common impulse, and all will have a common object of their worship.

In this conference agreement is not expected. Such conferences, like scientific conferences, are not held for agreement but for stimulation. And we hope that our proceedings may stir in men and in nations a spirit of emulation—of emulation in capturing more and more successfully that Divine Spirit which animates the world, and of emulation in achieving a purer holiness and a sweeter saintliness of life. We hope further that the conference will testify to our faith that religion is no waning force in human affairs, but that more than ever before it should be the vital and determining factor in human progress, the inspiring motive of all morality and all art as well as of science and philosophy, and should compact that solidarity which welds men into nations and binds nations to mankind as a whole and mankind to that great world from which mankind arose.

And I say this not as a result of abstruse study in the library but of years of work in the field—work among Hindus, Mohammedans and Buddhists as well as among my own countrymen. Unless the component nations of the British Empire can feel about each other that we are convinced of the realness of the spiritual world, and value above all else the things of the spirit, we shall not be able to pull together in the rough and tumble of the world. But if we can be sure that with all our differences we are at heart working for the best things in life, then we shall be able to hold firmly together even in the laxative times of peace.

The grounds for this belief are, I trust, intelligible enough. The nations of the Empire, like the members of any other society, hold together as long as they are pursuing a common object. They will hold together all the more firmly if the object they are pursuing is the one they value above all else. And they will hold together most firmly when what they most prize is what is truly of most value—what best satisfies the deepest needs of the soul.

Hinduism

When the time came for Pandit Shyam Shankar to address the conference he paid a tribute to the Imperial Government for "its grand lesson of religious toleration"—a fact of more significance to our Indians than to our Englishman at home.

I doubt the wisdom of a lecturer attempting to give in one discourse an account of Hinduism. It is bound to be inadequate, generalized and partial. If it be historical and literary there will surely be among the audience many impatient ones who are waiting for the excitement or romance of present-day facts—to whom the dry bones of chronology have little or no meaning. Hinduism is a social system as well as a religious belief; its history forms three-quarters of the history of India. Hence it was difficult for a strict chairman and a voluble lecturer to satisfy each other.

"The most remarkable fact about Hinduism is that it is not the outcome of the preachings of *one* self-assertive prophet, or *one* gospel giving *one* rigid conception of Divinity." In these words, the Pandit explained the origin of the religious toleration found in Hinduism.

"The central doctrine which governs the whole region of religious systems ordinarily placed under the category of Hinduism is the doctrine of *Karma*, which regulates reincarnation or transmigration of the soul, and includes the process of *Yoga* for the final liberation from the bondage of *Karma*. Here we find a distinctive feature which is religious, being concerned with a spiritual process, common to all Hindu systems of religion."

Mr. Shankar then proceeded to expound what he called *Sanātana Dharma*, or the orthodox living religion of the Hindus. In theory at least the devotee must acknowledge the following sacred books:

1. *The Four Vedas*—the Hymns and their various parts;
2. *The Brāhmanas*—the Commentaries on the hymns and accompanying rituals;
3. *The Upanishads*—the Mystical Treatises;
4. *The Sutras*—the Philosophical Systems;
5. *The Dharma Shastras*—the Laws;
6. *The Epics*—the Poetic works;
7. *The Puranas and Tantras*—the Historical and Sectarian treatises.

In the *Epics* special mention was made of the Bhagavad Gita, as the most precious gem of the collection and in the *Puranas*, we were told, was to be found the formulation of the different views of the Sects of Vaishnavas, Shaivas, Shaktas, Ganapatyas and Sauryas.

Mr. Shankar explained the doctrine of the *Gunas* at some length and then passed on to Caste or *Varna* (literally color) supporting himself by an appeal to Roman law as a parallel to the divisions of the social classes. Then came the *Margas* or various paths which alternately a devotee may enter for liberation. In his concluding sentence he said, "A popular religion is never the religion as the Prophet preaches it, but as the people make it by superimposing their own faiths or prejudices: and so long as these continue, the pure religion always remains adulterated."

I could not help thinking that these few words explained the feeling I had in listening to the lecture. "Have the critics worked in vain?" I asked myself? Has the work of Max Muller, Deussen, and a host of scholars who have almost made a cosmos of the cumulative chaos of Hindu religious scripture, gone for nothing? Apparently the "living religion" we are here concerned with is unilluminated by a knowledge of itself. My long-cherished opinion is confirmed, as I suspect, by Mr. Shankhar—that with the help of scholarship a western man may understand more clearly and appreciate more truly the beauties of Hindu religion. But in order to do so he must differentiate the good from the bad, and even the latter he may tolerate, understandingly. Yet, finally, here was a man of flesh and blood, a brother from the East, a pandit from the sacred city of Benares clothed in robe and turban, a master of our tongue; he succeeded in conveying to the mixed and sympathetic audience more than a first-class European scholar would have done.

Islam

Our Muslim day was a great success. Dr. Margoliouth, the Oxford Arabic scholar took the chair, and before the proceedings opened, the Arab Mufti from the Woking Mosque recited Sura LXVIII of the Ouran, entitled, "The Announcement." Its opening words were singularly appropriate:

"Of what do they ask one another? Of the message of importance about which they differ? Nay, they shall soon come to know!"

And the closing words less terrifying in Arabic, perhaps, to the assembled "unbelievers" than if they had been in English:

"Surely we have warned you of a chastisement near at hand: the day when man shall see what his two hands have done, and the unbeliever shall say; O! would that I were dust!"

"The Basic Principles of Islam," was the subject of the paper by Al. Haj Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, who had hoped to read it in person, but who was detained abroad. The paper was read by Mr. Yusuf Ali, and consisted of a careful exegesis of the teaching of the Quran. Opening with the Muslim Theory of religion, the writer explained that man enters the world pure and untainted with the highest capacities before him, but capable of declension. Religion is therefore a guidance and a discipline to lead man aright. There are seven evolutionary stages, each one of which was explained in turn, beginning with the lowest The Commanding (*Ammarah*) passing to The Self-Accusing (*Lawwana*) on to The Inspired (*Mulhima*). Then comes At Rest (*Muta'ma*), Pleased with God (*Radiah*), Pleasing to God (*Mardiah*), and finally Perfected (*Kamilah*). Islam uplifts from the first to the last; that is its function. It controls every action, illuminates every aspect of life—personal, domestic, civic and spiritual. There are five Pillars of Islam: (1) the Formula of Faith in God and acceptance of Muhammad as his Messenger; (2) Prayer, Fasting, Charity and the Pilgrimage to Mecca. Similarly the vices which obscure our progress were analyzed and refuted from Quranic authority. The social influence of Islam was set forth in eloquent passages, and the moral qualities that are generated in man by obedience to the faith—Chastity, Honesty, Meekness, Poilteness, Forgiveness, Goodness, Courage, Truthfulness, Patience, Sympathy and Kindness. The position of woman, said the lecturer, was elevated by Islam to equality with man, and the meaning of Paradise was aptly explained. Material Progress was the closing subject of an admirable, stimulating and lucid exposition of the Basic Principles of Islam, which apart from a few details may be considered characteristic of all schools of thought that have arisen within the system.

A paper of a different character by Sheikh Kadhim Dojaily came next. The Sheikh is a learned Arab of Baghdad, and had undertaken to describe something of the Shi'ah branch of Islam. Although acquainted with English he preferred that his paper should be read by Sir Thomas Arnold. The audience listened to a historical statement of the origin and development of the Shi'ah movement with the greatest interest. Forming about one-third of the Moslems, they are chiefly found in Persia, Mesopotamia, Bahrain and India.

and are now divided into three main groups, according as they adhere to "The Principles," "The Reports," or to "Revelation." The first group maintain that man can make original contributions both to the principles and the derivative matter in religion; the second do not admit of "following," but stand by the Quran. The third group show great reverence to their Imams, and allow their great claims to spiritual power on earth.

The Sheikh then dealt with opinions common to all Shi'i, the one which differentiates them from other Moslems being the special belief as to the proper succession from Muhammad. As to the Caliphate they hold that the Caliph is invisible and has appointed no deputy.

After the reading of this paper on the Shi'ah system the conference learned—or had the chance of learning—the advantage of providing itself with a chairman well versed in the subject. Dr. Margoliouth supplemented the paper with some exclusive information about certain modern sects. But he did more: he added some most valuable and discerning remarks on religion which I briefly transcribe here:

"There are particular ideas which dominate the human mind, and which the different forms of religion find expression for; and in the case of the Shi'i three things are represented perhaps more strongly than in any other system. First, they believe that someone who has passed away will come back. . . . We find that notion far and wide, but I think the Shi'i writings show that it has been attached to a greater series of persons in one family than any other system. Secondly, there is the principle of the glorification of failure. . . . Success will always be admired and glorified, but failure is another matter; and if we think of those whom the Shi'i love, respect and even adore, it is a series of persons associated with failure. Ali himself failed. . . . There is something in this devotion to a failing cause which impresses the human mind. . . . There is one-third feature which is common to all religions; that the submission of oneself to torment has something in it that expiates, or at any rate pleases, the Powers on high. This is a wonderful sight in Persia to those who witness it."

After a brief adjournment, the conference reassembled to hear the paper by Al Haj the Khalifat-al-Masih, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din, the head of the Ahmadiyya movement which has its headquarters at Qadian in the Punjab. Supported by a band of green-turbaned scholars, the Khalifat al Masiah made a fine impressive picture. He

spoke a few words in English: "Sister and Brothers: First of all I intend to put a few ideas before the minds of the members of the conference, that people may think over serious questions, and decide for themselves what religion they should accept. I should like to apologize to you for asking my friend and follower to read my paper to you, for I am not accustomed to read papers. In my own language I have spoken sometimes six hours before an audience of 10.000 people but I think it will be more difficult to read in a language that I do not know well." The Secretary of the delegation then read the paper.

The Ahmadiyya movement is about 34 years old, being founded by Hazrat Mirza Ghuiam Ahmad (hence the name Ahmadiyya) in 1890. He claimed to be Madhi and the Messiah of ancient prophecy. He met great opposition, but with increasing success. The speaker is the third in succession, to the founder. Missions have been sent to many countries. Ahmadiyyah claims to be the outcome of Islam just as Christianity was of Judaism, an inevitable and necessary development; not to be as a new law but to expound anew the teachings of Islam. The claim to be the Messiah was not a claim to be identical with Jesus, but to have received his power and spirit. The speaker gave great attention to showing that this age is one destined for the fulfilment of the promises of the ancient prophecy, and a long argument followed to prove that God still guides and inspires men as in the olden days. The speaker then gave a doctrinal discourse on what he described as Regenerated Islam, beginning with the belief in the Unity of God, upon which all other excellencies of belief and conduct depend. The speaker concluded by affirming the necessity of applying the moral qualities generated by religion to sociological and political problems. Sir Theodore Morrison, K. C. S. I., occupied the chair, and closed the meeting with a short comment.

The Islamic day was in every respect a great achievement. The three papers, separately composed, were complementary to one another: the first was lucidly doctrinal; the second valuably historical, and the third a modernist claim upon the world, to hear afresh the call from the lips of a living prophet. It would be right, I think, to say that to those who heard the Islamic papers for the first time their appeal would be more direct and easily received than that of other non-Christian religions. There is an Old Testament ring about Islam which makes it familiar to our ears. I happened, indeed, to be in the company of one who had casually dropped in that day and

heard him declaring enthusiastically, and perhaps with some exaggeration, that he had "not heard better Christian sermons for many a long day." What was so triumphant about our sessions was the entire friendliness of the three Moslem sects whose representatives abroad are often hostile to one another.

Buddhism

The sessions of September 24 were devoted to Buddhism. Mrs. C. Rhys Davids, D. Litt., took the chair and the first paper was read by Dr. W. A. de Silva on "The Status and Influence of Buddhism in Ceylon." It was listened to with great attention by the audience. It was followed by a paper by Mr. C. P. Malalasekera on "Influence of Buddhism on Education in Ceylon. The lecturer gave a short historical sketch of the early condition of Ceylon and described how in 307 B.C., the great Emperor Asoka sent out his mission to that Island; how monasteries were built as dwelling houses for the Spiritual Teachers; and how the movement was surrounded by beauties, both moral and aesthetic. The greatest service which these monasteries rendered was in the cause of education, where prince and peasant's son sat side by side to learn. The child from his very infancy learned the importance of worship, offering a handful of flowers and meditating on the Buddha, the Dhamma (Teaching), and the Sangha (the Order). The lecturer went on to describe the chief features of the Buddhist doctrine and the way in which it took hold of the life of the people. He concluded by saying: "The hall-mark of culture lies not in the possession of a university degree but in the love of service and fellowship. To give to the Sinhalese the full development of his personality, the educational policy of the country should be based on the past traditions of Ceylon, on the basis of the ancestral and national life and history of the people, for those traditions and that history furnish working hypothesis; they contain accounts of her great sociological experimentations. They embody and enshrine the experiences, the hopes, the imaginations and the visions of past generations and thus have a claim to full recognition."

At 5:00 o'clock, Mr. Shoson Miyamoto, lecturer of the Imperial University, Tokio, presented a paper on Mahayana Buddhism, which flourishes in certain parts of the British Empire. The opening portion of the paper which was read by a member of the committee, described the character of the movement founded by the

Buddha and gave an interesting picture of the various personalities who were attracted to it. Members of royal families, ministers and peasants, brahmans and servants, were brought to walk in the middle way. At length a Vinaya (Discipline) gradually came to be established as the discipline of the growing order, and later the teaching and discourses of the Buddha were recorded in memory. The coming of the Buddha synchronized with the belief in a Cakravartin or Sovereign of the World, and Asoka filled this expected role. The second part of the paper described the development of the Buddhist teaching in Central Asia and China, where it blended largely with earlier beliefs and religious practices. In Japan the lecturer thought, the Mahayana teaching has developed in many directions and exercises a great influence on the life of the people. Mr. Miyamoto was present on the platform during the reading of his paper and was accorded great applause.

If one may be permitted a word of criticism here, it would be to say that Buddhism was not so fortunate in its presentment as Islam, though this was not due to any inefficiency on the part of its expositors. By some accident each lecturer omitted to dwell sufficiently on what the audience most wished to hear—the teaching of the Buddha himself. Consequently their special concern—modern conditions in Ceylon and historical details of Mahayana—were not so valuable as they might have been if the lecturers had taken care to provide some general information. Nevertheless the audience gave great and grateful applause.

Parsism

The Parsi bear a name given to them by the Indians among whom they sought asylum many centuries ago. They are Persians by race and religion, and preserve the faith taught in the sixth century, B. C., by Zoroaster. Here again the conference was well served by a lucid paper by Shams-ul-ulema Dastur Kaikobad Aderbad Nashervan, Ph.D., first class Sardar and High Priest of the Parsis in the Deccan, Poona, India, whose simple exposition of the basic principle of Zoroastrianism, a universal religion, was much appreciated. It was supplemented by a short speech by a young Parsi gentleman visiting the conference, and the necessary historical information was supplied by Sir Patrick Fagan our able chairman. To call the Parsis "fire-worshippers" is really as offensive as calling Roman Catholics "image-worshippers" or Protestants "bib-

liolaters." For fire is with them only a symbol. Like the fire that illuminated the Burning Bush of Moses, like the fire that Prometheus stole from heaven, it is a token of the Divine Presence among men. The sun is the outward mark of that bounty which shineth on the evil and the good, and warms the just and the unjust. For the God of the disciples of Zoroaster is a kind, beneficent and impartial Being, and designs the welfare and happiness of his children. But He operates the just and merciful law. In those parts of the Zoroastrian scriptures (the Gathas) which are held to give the authentic teaching of the prophet Zarathustra. It is read: "According to Thy way of Justice, wilt Thou give reward to words and deeds, so that evil shall happen to evil and blessings and happiness to the righteous." In the future life, it is character that tells. Each individual reaps exactly as he has sown. There are as many destinies as there are individuals. And in the making of character, thoughts count as well as acts. Much stress is laid on pure thoughts, as on pure words and pure deeds. The Parsis are noted for the chasteness of their manner of life, for the nobleness of their speech, and their business integrity. The writer was once present at a remarkable ceremony in the East, the opening of a park for disabled animals. It had been given by a Parsi, who had pride in carrying out the precepts regarding kindness to animals enunciated by the great teacher of his religion.

Zoroastrianism has made a great contribution to the Western idea of a Kingdom of Righteousness, Justice and Love, the ideal of all good citizens. The idea of making the earthly imitate the heavenly, of modelling society after a divine pattern, is a favorite idea amongst them. We owe to them also the beautiful fancy of guardian angels attending the sons of men.

The Dastur's paper, though short, was simple and clear, and removed, I thought, the whole subject from the realm of controversy in which it is so often wrapped. The whole paper was interesting as evidence of the way in which the followers of so many religions nowadays, have given up the exclusive demands of their faith. For it is upon the principles that harmonize with the idea of a universal religion that emphasis is laid. Within all the faiths, as within all the nations, the desire for union is being increasingly felt. After a brief account of Zoroaster as a religious reformer of ancient Persia—or rather Iran of which Fars was one province only—he affirmed that the Zoroastrian theology was a monotheism. Ahura Mazda, the Wise Lord had no semi-divine counterpart.

Anghro-Mainyu or Evil Mind was a human enemy to God, and was by later teachers personified erroneously into Ahriman; the worship of God rested on certain abstract conceptions or realities which later teachers called Amesha-Spenta or "The Immortal Ones" of which there were finally six, namely: *Vohu-Manah* (Good Thought); *Asha* (Truth); *Khashtra* (Divine Reign); *Aramaiti* (Piety); *Haurvatat* (Healthy Well-being) and *Ameratat* (Immortality). The ethical conceptions of Zoroaster were described, followed by a view of the hereafter; and some beautiful poetical passages were read, of which an example follows:

Ad Astra

Glory to thee, O Mazdah! Lo, I turn
From dazzling visions of Thy home of light,
And find me weary in the strife again,
To battle with the watchful fiends that line
Man's path to Heaven. Yet in the sacred Fire
I pray Thee let my waking thoughts recall
Sights that can soothe and strengthen.
I beheld,
And lo, from out the eternal House of Song,
One came and answered my unspoken prayer:
"How came I hither? Thou must tell the tale
Of what I was, a mortal, for the years
Of bliss have swept the memory away.
It may be the fell demons of disease
Vanquished my body, while the Death-fiend nigh
Waited the hour to swoop upon her prey.
What recked I? I was free.
Three days I watched
Hard by the spot whence weeping friends had borne
The demon-haunted frame that once was mine.
New light had dawned on all the earthly scenes
Where once I seemed to struggle all alone
Against the Lie; for myriad angel forms
Thronged o'er the foughten field, and silently
Strengthened the weary warrior with their aid.
And joy whose like the world had never known
Bade me forget the tears that death had drawn
And death should dry. . . .

Long time I gazed,
Dazzled at Heaven, or blinded upon Hell;
Till o'er the abyss I saw a thin bright line
Stretched up to that fair portal, and I knew
The Bridge of Judgement. Lo, an angel dread
Sat there beside, and in his hand the scales
To weigh the good and evil. At his bar
I stood, yet feared not, while good angels pled
And demons fierce accused me. till the scale
Sank with the load of everlasting joy.
So with my Angel forth I sped and passed
The Bridge of Judgement, passed the Heavens Three,
Good Thought, Good Word, Good Action, and beyond
Soared to the place of Everlasting Light,
Ahura Mandah's boundless House of Song,
A Saint's voice hailed me. "How hast hither come,
From carnal world to spiritual, from the realm
Of Death to life, to bliss that cannot die?
And from the Throne came answer, "Question not
Him that hath trod the dread and unknown path
Which parts the body and soul for aye."—*Yasht, xxii.*

(Translated by the late Dr. J. Hope Moulton.)

Jainism

Still under the helpful chairmanship of Sir Patrick Fagan the conference listened to a paper on Jainism. The subject was presented by a most learned composition from the pen of Rai Bahadur Jagmander Lal Jaini, Chief Justice of the High Court of Indore, India. It was, indeed, so full of technical detail, unsuitable for a spoken discourse, that the committee was glad of the help of Mr. H. Warren, himself a Jain, who gave an abstract of the paper in simple form. The historical introduction was given by the chairman as the paper was deficient in this respect. He said. "Its own adherents generally ascribe an immemorable, immense antiquity to that religion, and trace its existence through the lives of twenty-four great saints or Tirthankaras. Of those twenty-four the last two, whose names were Parcoa and Mahavira, were no doubt historical personages, whose names appear in documents and records which have good claim to be historical. Modern scholars attribute the foundation of Jainism in its present form to the second of these, Mahavira.

It is possible if not probable, that he was rather a reformer of a previous existing sect in which Parcoa, his predecessor occupied a prominent place; but that is a debatable question. We know, however that Mahavira lived in Eastern India in the 6th and 5th centuries B. C. He was a native of the state of Vaisali, which corresponds to the modern Tirhout, where he was born, and where he died about 480 B. C. After spending some 30 years as an ascetic, probably as a follower of Parcoa, Mahavira began his preaching and founded his religion close to his native country. It is a matter of considerable interest that Buddhism and Jainism, which were contemporary, came into existence in the very same part of India and about the same era. The Buddha died only ten years before Mahavira, and the two religions were to a certain extent rivals.

Jainism is what may be called a monastic religion. It consists of a monastic order and laity. Like Buddhism, Jainism was a definite revolt from the contemporary Brahmanic religion, from its law, from its ritual and against the ascendency of the Brahmins.

Having made its appearance in Eastern India, later on, after two centuries, it migrated westwards, and its present adherents, who number only one and one-half millions in India, are to be found mainly in West India and Rajaputana. A large number are to be found sporadically in Delhi and all over India. The Jains nearly all congregate in cities, and are engaged in commerce or one of the professions."

The subject of the paper was "Jain Theology and Ethics." The soul as inhabiting the bodies of living beings in the world is not perfect. In its perfect condition it has the infinite quaternary of infinite perception, knowledge, power and bliss. By following the proper method the soul gradually frees itself from all matter and becomes perfect, i. e., attains liberation, emancipation, salvation or godhood. Man himself, and he alone, is responsible for all that is good or bad in his life.

Ahimsa or non-injury to and sympathetic relief of the sufferings of all living beings, is the greatest characteristic of Jainism. Long before Sir J. C. Bose of Calcutta proved to Western science that plants have sensitive responses of their own, Jainism, thousands of years ago, gave plants a very high place in the scale of living beings; with this the next characteristic is essentially connected, viz., the clear-cut, well-defined division of all substances in the world into two exhaustive categories, living and non-living substances.

Man consists of body and soul and it is the soul that is the knower and not the body. The brain knows nothing, it is the soul that knows. The soul is the conscious substance. When we say of a man that he is very knowing we do not refer to his body. It is the soul that knows.

The Jains are a law-abiding people. Their criminal record is marvellously white. The proportion of criminals among Jains is the lowest in India. In trade and commerce they almost top the list. There is not a district or town where Jains are in any considerable number where they do not take a leading position as landed proprietors, bankers, merchants, lawyers, and other honorable professions. There are no Jain beggars or mendicants to be found anywhere.

But the greatest effect of Jainism upon the Jains is that it has saturated their souls with "ahimsa." Through centuries of tradition and discipline it has become impossible for a true Jain to hurt anyone in any way by thought or word or deed. Non-violence is the twin sister of pity and kindness, which is the essential heart of actually practiced truth. Thus a man or woman, Jain or non-Jain, who follows Jainism, even a little, ever resides in the heart of truth. Peace and goodwill to all!

Sufism

Here the conference was favored in a special degree by the presence of Sufi Hafiz Raushan Ali of whom some personal particulars may be given. Clothed in his long robes and green turban, Ali was seen at most of the sessions guided affectionally on account of his defective sight, by one of his friends. He does not speak English, but he responds to what is said to him by a kindly smile and handshake. It was good to see him in converse with the Arab Mufti on the day of our closing ceremony.

Sufi Hafiz Raushan Ali, is one of the leaders of Naushahi Sufis who are a sub-division of Qadria sect, which owes its origin to Syed Abdul Qadir Geelani. The Naushahi sect was founded by Muhamhad Haji Nausha, and claims a large number of followers throughout Western India. Muhammad Haji Nausha flourished during the reign of Emperor Baber and was the ninth ancestor of the lecturer. The ancestry traced upwards is as follows: Sufi Raushan Ali, son of Miran Baksh, son of Sultam Alam, son of Nizam-uddin, son of Subhan Ali, son of Khanalam, son of Ibrahim, son of Muhammad Said, son of Muhammad Hasham, son of Muhammad

Haji Nausha. Muhammad Said was a contemporary of Shah Jahan and that Emperor granted him a Jagir of two villages for his support, some parts of which are held even now as *Muafi* under the British Government. The home of the lecturer is in the village of Ranmal, Tahsil Phalia, Gujrat District in the Punjab. It is situated towards the northwest of Lahore. Sufi Hafiz Raushan Ali knows the whole of the Quran by heart (and is thus entitled to be called Hafiz) and also the major portion of the sayings of the Prophet. He can also recite from memory many thousands of verses from Arabic poetry. He also possesses a great mastery over other branches of knowledge, such as Unani medicine, logic and philosophy. In the domain of *Tusa-wwaf* or Sufism, he holds a high position. From early age Sufi Raushan Ali was fond of prayers and spiritual practices of the Sufis. At the age of 13 he started those of the Qadria sect, and at the age of 15 he interested himself in the manners and company of *Naqshbendi* and *Chishtia Sufis.* Sufi Raushan Ali joined the ranks of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, and through the blessings of his companionship he became a recipient of divine revelations, and was honored with opportunities for the service of the faith. At present Mussulmans all over India invoke his aid for the defence of Islam, when hard pressed in the field of religious disputation.

The recitations chanted in Arabic and Persian after the lecture had been read by Dr. Muhammad Din enraptured the audience and were in the following order:

(1) A few verses of the Holy Quran dealing with the love of and communion with God.

(2) Three lines of Persian poetry dealing with the love of God.

(3) A few lines of *Masnavi Maulana Rum* were recited and their translations were read out to the audience.

I am sure we all felt that the paper which was read gave a very interesting and suggestive view of the origin, development and content of Sufi thought and practice. The paper was full of information and, I think, brought out the main point of Sufism. The fundamental conception of that system seems to be that human souls differ in degree though not in kind from the Divine Spirit from which they emerge, and to which they ultimately return. The aim of the Sufi is by loss of his individual self-consciousness, in ecstatic self-abandonment, to obtain union with that Divine Spirit. Their principle is that since reason cannot transcend phenomena, it must therefore be abandoned in favor of that divine illumination, that

spirit of intuition, by which true knowledge and grasp of the infinite is to be obtained.

Sufism is, or was, in its origin an expression of the ascetism approved of in the Quran. The Quran contains elements or rudiments of mysticism, upon which basis Sufism developed.

The conditions of the first two centuries of the Muhammadan era were naturally such as were likely to encourage the spread of ascetism. Towards the end of the second century, that ascetism had advanced to some degree of agnosticism, and later contained Pantheistic tendencies, helped by internal influences. It is a practical religion, rather than a speculative system, but it gradually moved from ascetic quietism to mystical speculation.

Sikhism

The author of this paper is Sardar Kahan Singh of Nabha, Panjab, India.

Although the Sikhs are in number only some three millions they form an important factor in the Indian army; and for this and other reasons connected with their history and their character, information as to their religious belief should be of especial interest. They are not a race, but the adherents of a particular religious faith, but that faith has so united them and formed them into one type that it is reasonable to speak of them as a people. They are in the main peasant proprietors, small hardworking farmers, inhabiting the Central Punjab in the North of India; the bulk of them are in British territory; the others are in certain states governed by Sikh rulers. They have long been a distinctly martial community, but they began as disciples of a teacher, who was an apostle of peace. This teacher was Nānak (1469—1538) whose history was in many respects similar to that of St. Francis of Assisi; he resisted all the family pressure brought to bear on him to continue his father's business, and spent his life in poverty, religious contemplation and teaching. His doctrine was a comprehensive theism; there was one invisible God worshipped under many forms; his disciples were to be at peace with all men, to have brotherly love among themselves, and to live virtuous and quiet lives in their several vocations. Nanak was the first Guru of the Sikhs; the word Guru merely means "a religious teacher," and the word Sikh, "a disciple"; but Nanak instituted a permanent society of Sikhs presided over by a Guru. He had nine successors in the office of Guru, the last of whom died in 1708. The

spirit of Nanak was said to be incarnate in each succeeding Guru, but the manifestations of that spirit were not always identical, and the character of that community did not always remain the same. The spirit of the Sikhs had changed before the form of the brotherhood was altered under the influence of the tenth and last Guru, Govind, who was the head of the Sikhs from 1675 to 1708 A. D. He succeeded his father when he was only fifteen and after twenty years spent in retirement he called the Sikhs together and declared to them the new faith, which he had been commissioned to reveal. God was to be worshipped in truthfulness and sincerity, and under no material resemblance, but he would henceforth dwell in the general body of the brotherhood, to which he gave the name of the Khalsa, or the "saved" or "liberated"; and in the Khalsa the eye of faith would behold him. Their caste was to be forgotten; all were to be equal; and all must accept the rite of initiation and thereafter take the word Singh or "lion" as part of their names; thus Govind became Govind Singh. The Sikh Singhs were to be henceforth a people vowed to war; they were never to be without an iron weapon, and were never to cut the hair of the head and beard. Organized thus, the Sikhs eventually became rulers, but not all the followers of Nanak accepted the teaching of Govind Singh, and this apparently has something to do with the present troubles about the Sikh shrines.

Sir Patrick Fagan was in the chair for this paper and in the course of his remarks said, the author of the paper is Sardar Kahan Singh. He is well-known to many British officers and others in that part of India as a leading Sikh scholar, well versed in the language and contents of the Sikh scriptures, so much so that he was a leader among the group of six scholars who early in this century carried out a revised translation of the part of the Sikh scriptures known as Adi Granth, a work that took many years to complete. His efforts in that work were acknowledged publicly by Mr. Macauliffe in his book on *Sikh Religion* published in 1909. He is in India, and unable to be present, but the task of reading it has been undertaken by Mr. Loftus Hare, whom it is scarcely necessary for me to introduce. It has been suggested that it would be convenient if I tendered a few brief remarks on the history and tenets of the Sikhs.

First, the word Sikh is not the name of a race or nationality or caste, but a term which signifies the followers of a religion.

As regards the Sikh scriptures, the most important is known as Adi Granth, compiled by the fifth Guru about the end of the sixteenth century, and it contained compositions of Nanak and his successors, also of Hindu saints and Muhammedan saints. The writings of Guru Govind were after his death compiled into a supplementary Granth; these two Granths constitute the Sikh scripture, and contain the Sikh system. One of the last injunctions of Guru Govind was that he was to have no successor; he would henceforward dwell in spirit with the Khalsa, and would be present when two or more of his followers were gathered together.

After the death of Govind Singh, the history of Sikhism and the Khalsa becomes inextricably mingled with the history of Northern India, with war and bloodshed. Political chaos ensued in the Punjab of the most diastrous kind, and conflict with the British power. There followed the two Sikh wars. Nine years later occurred the great Indian mutiny; in that great trouble the Sikhs as a whole rallied to the ranks of their conquerors, and remained loyal throughout.

In dealing with the short paper I felt grateful to the chairman's useful historical information, for in this respect the learned author had left us without that essential background for his otherwise lucid and well-arrayed account of his religion, to which the audience listened with great sympathy. The Sardar claimed that Guru Nanak was preceded by movements of dissatisfaction and reform.

The paper was divided into a large number of sections, each supported by texts from the scriptures, as follows: The abolition of caste, pilgrimage and begging; the sanctity of the ordinary domestic life; the prohibition of ascetism and self-torture; the seeking of special bathing places. Polytheism was rejected in place of Monotheism and of course idols had no part. Equally, religious costumes and marks were put aside by Nanak, and the simple life sustained. "Untouchability" was rejected: "Pious persons who know God have no impurity." On the subjects of prayer, humility, philanthropy, superstition, fidelity in marriage, wine, etc., simple clear ethical teachings were given. Transmigration and Karma, the two central Hindu doctrines, were accepted and salvation was looked for as the goal of religious and moral obedience. Singularly beautiful were the Guru's teaching on gratitude and loyalty to the ruler and military commander.

Taoism and Confucianism

The first lecture was on Taoism by Mr. Hsu Ti Shan, and was probably a surprise to the English audience. Mr. G. R. S. Mead, the well-known scholar, took the chair. Taoism as a religious movement was given a great impulse by Lao-tze and Chwang-tze, two mystic philosophers living in China in the fifth and third centuries B. C. It was designed to oppose the social and political ethic of that date, which in the view of the Taoist philosophers imposed restrictions upon the natural manifestations of human impulses. The Taoists saw in nature everything that was beautiful and desirable, and they conceived that the life of man was controlled by the mysterious power which they called Tao, and which may best be described as the Order or Law of the Universe. The man of Tao consequently was one who was controlled by this power and put aside all hard and fast ethical construction of his own.

Confucianism, on the other hand, was the elevation of social and political ethic to the level of religious duty, and the great sage Confucius and his followers conceived Heaven to be the realm of the departed ancestors, and of a rather shadowy Divine Being. Life was to be controlled by what they called propriety and righteousness, the one being the correct attitude towards Heaven and the other towards our fellow-men. It penetrates with the greatest minuteness into the details of daily life, it regulates family and personal ritual, and prescribes the duties of every conceivable situation. It had been hoped that the conference might also hear a paper on Confucianism, which is to China what the Mosaic system was and is to the Jews or what Anglicanism is to England; but the distinguished Chinese Confucian scholar who, it was hoped, would read a paper on it, was unable to accede to the request.

Mr. Hsu Ti Shan's paper was read for him by a Peking friend and colleague, Mr. R. K. Evans. The author is a former student of Peking University who, after a year at Columbia University, New York, has come to pursue the study of Comparative Religion in Oxford and London. He is a Chinese, not a British subject, but had kindly agreed to prepare and present the paper on Taoism in view of the number of adherents of that religion to be found within the British Empire. Nor is he himself a Taoist, but a member of the Chinese Christian Church. But his paper left nothing to be desired in the way of scholarly and sympathetic interpretation of the

Taoist faith, its early philosophical origins, its varied history, and its present practice and significance.

He pointed out that Confucianism and Taoism both sprang from one source, viz., the "Yi Ching" or Book of Changes, the earliest of all Chinese philosophic and mystic writings; Confucianism developing the ethical and political sides; while primitive Taoism, under the genius of Lao Tze, the contemporary of Confucius, developed the mystical and religious elements. Later Taoism was not only deeply influenced by Buddhism but also incorporated the primitive animistic worship and magical practices of the old Folk-Religion of China. The Taoist "Pope," the sixty-second in the direct line from Chang Tao Ling, the founder of Taoism as an organized society, resides today on Lung Hu Mountain in Kiangsi province; but his powers and influence are no longer such as his predecessors enjoyed. Taoism still exercises considerable influence upon the daily life and habits of the people, especially in the domestic and social spheres. The whole paper deserves to be studied carefully in order to appreciate the labor which has been involved in its preparation. I can only say here that it is quite impossible to transform its rich contents into a few short paragraphs such as any present space allows.

The subject of Divination was explained to us first and attributed to the pre-Chinese races. At length came the *Yi-Ching* and the organization of the spiritual intercourse with nature and her various powers. There were eight in number.

"As far back as 2513 B. C.," said Mr. Hsu, "there were two departments of government, *Wu* and *Shih.* The former embraced magicians, astrologers and diviners, and the latter scribes and statesmen and historians. Both contributed elements to the *Yi Ching,* the classical "Book of Changes." The *Shih,* however, produced results of its own in Confucianism and Motism. Primitive Taoism of the Sao-teh-ching came direct from the *Yi* with certain Wu elements incorporated in it. Later Taoism received into its body a graft of Motism and a greater volume of various magical doctrines and ideas. From this a further *Wu-Taoism* was derived, and finally its modern form. Put into simple language this seems to me to state that the most ancient form of magical cult plus a social and ethical impulse combined to produce the two most ancient Chinese philosophies. The one (Confucianism) remained pure; and the other received into itself various old and new superstitions so that it now is in a degenerate condition.

After that we had a very good account of the quietest teaching of Lao-tze and Chwang-tze, *Wu-Wei,* non-action, as it was called by the first translators; and (as I think myself it should be) non-willing. The content as described bears a wonderful resemblance to the Christian quietism of the later Middle Ages, and, as Mr. Mead remarked at the end, it means no more than "Thy will, not mine, be done." On this *Wu-Wei,* as an ethical impulse, Chwang-tze sought to reform the empire. Brave man! Perhaps one day we may have to say "Wise man."

Some Modern Movements

The Baha'i Cause

The first paper was read by Mr. Mountford Mills, Baha'i delegate from Canada. He began by referring to an address given by Abdu'l-Baha in the City Temple, London, on September 10, 1911, in which he said: "There is one God; mankind is one; the foundations of religions are one. Let us worship Him, and give praise for *all* His great prophets and messengers who have manifested His brightness and glory." Thus there is no need to assert the fact that the Baha's cause seeks no competitive victory among the world's religions and lays no additional frontiers among the boundaries already dividing mankind into different creeds but rather its ideal is unity consciously binding the hearts of men.

The origin of the Baha'i cause coincided in point of time with the beginnings of what is considered the opening of a new era in human development. In Persia between May 23, 1844, and July 9, 1850, occurred that remarkable series of events known to history as the "Episode of the Bab," though prior to this period the teaching had already spread in that country that a new spiritual leader would arise. Mirza Ali Muhammad, who took the title of the Gate (Bab) was this new leader, and within the short six years which elapsed between his declaration and his martyrdom, he had succeeded in shattering the age-long inertia of Persia and in enlisting a large following. But he always asserted that he was but the forerunner of a greater than himself. This greater messenger of truth was Mirza Husayn Ali, a scion of a noble and wealthy Persian family, who was one of the foremost supporters of the Bab, and after suffering much in person and possessions at the hands of the

priests of the established religion, was exiled to Baghdad and subsequently to Akka. It was just previous to his departure from Baghdad that Baha'u'llah as he had come to be known, declared that he was the one foretold by the Bab. His teachings were largely by letters, as all direct communication with his adherents was cut off during his forty years' imprisonment. These teachings reflected no acquired learning, but were the immediate experience in the soul of one who turned wholly and directly to God. According to them religion is not one of life's aspects, but the predominant spirit expressing itself through all aspects, and again he teaches that all the founders of religion are successive, co-related expressions of the Will of God, identical as to purpose and function, diverse only in that each founder adapted the one divine teaching to the particular needs of his time. A brief summary of these teachings is that they comprise almost equally an interpretation of the fundamentally true in all religions and encouragement and exhortation to respond with spirit, mind and soul to the newer and greater possibilities of this age.

After the passing of Baha'u'llah, May 28, 1892, his eldest son, Abdu'l Baha Abbas succeeded as executive head of the Cause and expounder of the teachings. These two duties Sir Abdu'l Baha Abbas, K. B. E., carried out with such success that the Baha'i Cause not only continued to progress in the land of its origin, but was carried far and wide over the earth, notably in the United States of America, and it has been through the words and writings of Abdu'l Baha that the essential principles of the Cause received their direct applications to problems peculiar to Western civilization. These essential principles are twelve, viz., the oneness of the world of humanity; independent investigation of truth; the foundation of all religions is one; religion must be the cause of unity among mankind; religion must be in accord with science and reason; equality of men and women; abandonment of all prejudices; universal peace; universal education; solution of the economic question; a universal language, and international tribunal.

The second paper was read by Mr. Ruhi Afnan, grandson of Abdu'l Baha. This dealt more particularly with the profound changes wrought by the Baha'i principles in the lives of their followers. Baha'u'llah to reconcile the religions laid it down as a guiding principle that the purpose of religion is to provide a social bond, to create a new force in mans' life, to infuse in him the love of all his fellow creatures. In order to eliminate the root cause of all

forms of class hatred he proclaimed, "Do ye know why we have created you from one "clay? That no one should exalt himself over another." Critics unable to deny the beauty and the force of Baha'u'llah's teachings have yet maintained that they were but lofty ideals incapable of practical application to mans' everyday life. This has however been abundantly proved not to be the case, as is evidenced by the progress which has been made in many directions in the amelioration of social conditions and the increasing tendency to consider many questions from an international rather than from the narrower national point of view. In the East, especially in Persia, the achievements of the Baha'i cause have been great. In all Baha'i communities where the means could be found, schools have been opened for the education not only of boys, but more especially of girls, since Baha'u'llah has stated that the latter must receive preferential treatment in the matter of education being the prospective mothers of future generations and thus the first teachers of their offspring. In the West, where more progress had already been made by legislation its influence has been mainly to create the spirit of international brotherhood and to wipe out religions, social and economic prejudices. The evidence from all countries where the Baha'i cause has gained followers, and they are many, goes to prove the realization of Abdu'l Baha's words "the spirit of the Cause is pulsating in the arteries of mankind."

Brahmo and Arya Samaj

The two papers which followed, excited great interest, each in its own way. The Brahmo Samaj was appropriately represented by Mr. N. C. Sen, the son of the famous founder of the New Dispensation branch of the Samaj, Keshab Chandra Sen, and brother of the Dowager Maharani of Cooch Behar. His dignity and charm added to the power of his lecture. Mr. Sen is employed at the Indian High Commission, London, in regard to the education of Indian students; he speaks our language perfectly and understands our ways of thought. Professor Pherwani unhappily could not be present, but he had an excellent reader in the person of Bishop James of London who confessed in his exuberant way to having been converted to seven different religions already before having undertaken to expound another. We learned from these two informative papers the different and legitimate aims of the two Samaj, which I will briefly outline now.

The original Brahmo Samaj was founded by Raja Rammohan Roy in 1828, with the help of certain wealthy Bengali friends of whom the most notable was Dwarkanath Tagore, the grandfather of Rabindranath Tagore, the poet. After the Raja's death in 1833, Devendranath Tagore, the son of Dwarkanath and father of Rabindranath, became recognized as leader of the Samaj. It was during his leadership that the Samaj formally surrendered its belief in the infallibility of the Vedas. In 1857, Keshab Chandra Sen joined the Samaj and soon acquired great influence. He was more radical in his views and more sympathetic towards Christianity than Devendranath. In 1865 a party led by Keshab separated from the parent society and took up a much more advanced theistic position. Gradually, Keshab Chandra introduced many Vaisnava and Christian practices into his section of the Samaj. Moreover he began to teach that besides the truth which comes to us from God through intuition and through the teaching of nature, truth might also be communicated to man through the life and teachings of great men, foremost among whom in his own thought was Jesus Christ. He claimed however that he himself also was the precipient of divine commands which he was to promulgate, and in 1878 a section broke away from him. From this date until the present day, there have been three distinct sections of the Brahmo Samaj:

(1) The right wing, known as the Adi Samaj or Original Samaj, which has of late years become practically a family affair of the Tagores; (2) the center party or Sadharan Samaj; (3) Keshab Chandra Sen's party, the left wing, generally known as the Church of the New Dispensation. The avowed followers of all three sections together form only a comparatively small body, but their influence is out of all proportion to their numbers, and they have rendered and are still rendering signal service to the cause of social reform, especially in such matter as the education of women and the improvement of marriage customs.

The founder of the Arya Samaj is known among his followers as Dayanand Sarasvati, though the name given him by his parents was Mul Sankar. He was born in 1824 in Kathiawar, of Brahman parents who were worshippers of Siva. When as a boy of fourteen he was initiated into the Siva sect, he spent a whole night in vigil before the image of Siva, and the sight of rats running over the image and defiling it, filled him with a disgust for idolatry which remained with him to the end of his days. At the age of twenty-one he ran away from home in order to avoid getting married, and

so being prevented from devoting himself entirely to the pursuit of religious truth. In 1860 he chose as his spiritual guide, or garu, Svami Viryanand Sarasvati and after four years, instruction under him he began to travel over the whole of Northern India preaching against idolatry, and against sectarian and caste divisions.

It was not until 1875 that he established the first branch of the Arya Samaj at Bombay. He was indebted to the Brahmo Samaj for the idea of such a body, and he copied the constitution of the older movement but in spirit the two differ widely. The Brahmo Samaj had definitely declared against the inerrancy, or final authority, of any sacred book and had developed on eclectic lines, whereas Dayanand and his followers while rejecting the authority of all later scriptures, maintained that the Vedas are the books of true knowledge, and that it is the paramount duty of every Arya to read or hear them read, to teach and preach them to others.

Before the Swami died in 1883 over 300 branches of the Samaj had been formed. By 1911 its total membership was nearly a quarter of a million; at the present moment there are probably some 500 000 persons who owe more or less strict allegiance to it. The most remarkable product of the movement is the famous Gurukul at Hardwar where lads and young men are being trained under a kind of monastic discipline to become preachers of the faith. The Samaj is by far the most aggressive non-Christian religious movement in India at the present time, and it is making a vigorous effort to check the rapid process of Christianity amongst the depressed classes, by accepting untouchables as Aryas after making them go through a process of Suddhi or purification.

The paper referred to above was written by Dr. S. N. Pherwani of Shikarpur, Sind, himself a representative member of the Samaj.

Some Primitive Religious Beliefs

In view of the claims of our conference, it would have been impossible to omit consideration of some of the smaller and less known faiths of its humbler citizens. At the same time it would have been equally impossible to give an adequate exposition of the religions of the primitive races, which after centuries of unhappy strife have now, for good or ill, been incorporated in our system. The African for special reasons which can easily be appreciated, does not present to us the same sort of problem as the American negro. And our conference did something at least to bridge the gulf of history

and nature. Our four "primitive" lectures were chosen to be typical of the subject.

Mr. St. Barbe Baker, late assistant conservator of forests, Kenya Colony, was the first lecturer and was introduced by Mr. D. N. Dunlop. In his paper on "Beliefs of Some East African Tribes," Mr. Baker said that the old conception of Africa as a great dark continent, peopled with savages, "dwelling in the shadow of death," is extravagantly false. It may be that in the past we have failed to understand because we have not taken pains to study things from the African point of view.

The simple inhabitants of the Highland of Kenya live very close to nature. They have a very real belief in that mysterious power or personality which is greater than human or natural forces, though when asked to give their conception of this Deity they naturally find it difficult. As far as I understand it, he continued, the A-Kikuyu believe in a great spirit who lives above the snows of the great mountain which gives its name to the Colony. This great spirit has no beginning and no ending but is an independent being who never alters. He is sometimes addressed in solemn sacrifice and prayer as Mwininyaga, or "Possessor of Whiteness," while the mountain where he dwells is Kirinyaga, meaning "Place of Whiteness"; this in fact is the Kikuyu name for Mt. Kenya. The sun and the rain, the moon and the lightning are all manifestations of N'Gai (The High God). There are also sacred trees under which prayers are offered up and at which sacrifices are made. These people have no temples other than clearings in the forests with blue sky over all. Their prayer is nonetheless effective for all this, for they have a profound belief in prayer. The object of sacrifices was not to propitiate the Deity but to coax him, as it were. "God is not angry, therefore does not need to be propitiated; but like all of us he does love a present." Such a present makes it possible for the worshipper to ask for something really worth while in return—"O God, you who have many things, give me some, please. Listen, I want goats, I want sheep, I want children. Listen, I want plenty of them, O my father, that I may be rich. Do you hear, O God my Father?" The Kikuyu ascribe the ordinary ills of life to the spirits of the departed. If a man has done evil in life he is liable to continue doing harm after death.

Judged from the European point of view these Africans present a very curious mingling of qualities, both good and bad. Physically brave but morally feeble, they are easy to lead but hard to drive.

They dread the unknown unless placed under the immediate guidance of one whom they trust. Self-indulgent by custom, habit and nature, they are liable to hanker after the flesh pots rather than the higher things of civilization. Moral through fear, when controlled by tribal custom and use, they are prone to be anything but moral when brought under the comparatively mild jurisdiction of Western civilization. Superstitious and credulous but quick to learn and eager to understand, they are readily imbued with the wish to advance, though their instability of temperament often causes them to lose interest before the goal is reached. With vivid imagination as regards things supernatural, they are slow to visualize the possibilities of material change, and reforms can only come about by ocular demonstrations of improved results. Naturally idle they can only be assisted to improve their conditions by having the result of study and systematized labor brought directly before them. Withal a lovable and trustful people for whose welfare we have assumed responsibility, and to whom we therefore owe the care and guidance which is in our power to give.

Professor Alice Werner took the chair for the second lecture which was on "Maori Beliefs." She said, "I have great pleasure in introducing Archdeacon Williams, who is the greatest living authority on Maori life. He was the grandson of the first missionary bishop to settle in New Zealand almost a hundred years ago. He was brought up and educated in New Zealand, and took his B. A. degree at the University of New Zealand, and his M. A. at Cambridge. After his ordination he for some time did clerical work in England, then returned to New Zealand, and became Vice-Principal first, then in 1888 Principal of the Maori Theological College at Gisbourne. I am sure we could not have an abler and more sympathetic interpreter of the Maori mind, since we are unable to get a real Maori for this conference."

The paper was a very suggestive one and took the line that primitive religion, as yet insufficiently investigated, takes different shapes and includes several elements, as to whose nature, and the constitution of the various combinations into which they enter, students are by no means at one. It seems probable that the Polynesian religions (including that of the Maoris) are by no means of the most primitive type; this is more nearly approached in Africa, though even here we find considerable variety. Among these elements we must reckon the belief in human survival after death, resulting in the recognition (perhaps not in all cases amounting to worship) of

the *Ancestral Ghost*, which is the most definitely marked feature in the religion of many primitive people. Another element is *Totemism* which, whatever interpretations may be suggested by its later developments, seems ultimately to rest on an instinctive sense of the kinship of all living things. There seems to be, in some cases at least, a belief in non-human spirits inhabiting, but not inseparably connected with, natural objects, such as rocks or trees, and this belief is probably at the root of what is called *Fetishism*, a system of magic by which a spirit is attached to some object and thereby endows the latter with occult powers. (In some forms of primitive religion it is difficult to draw the line between religion and magic, in others they are clearly distinguished.) What is known as *Animism* (a term introduced by the late E. B. Tylor) may be interpreted as meaning, either that all objects in nature—inanimate as well as animate—have an inherent life of their own, or that they are animated (as aforesaid) by a spirit. Possibly both views may be held (more or less consciously, for we must remember that people in the most primitive stages of thought would be unable to formulate their beliefs articulately). It seems, also, as if more Africans (perhaps stimulated by questioning, to define what is vaguely present in their minds) had arrived at the idea of a Universal Spirit animating the whole of nature. There also, frequently, seems to be present the more or less vague notion of a High God—sometimes, if not always, identifiable with the sky or the sun. Where anything like polytheism prevails, the gods are usually found to be either personified nature-powers or deified ancestors, especially chiefs or heroes, and it is even possible that, in some cases, the latter may have become identified with, or developed into, the former.

The third paper which was on the "Bantu Religious Ideas and Beliefs" was prepared by Mr. Albert Thoka of Pietersburg, South Africa. He is a member of the Bapedi tribe, better known as Sekukuni's people, a branch of the Basuto nation. The paper embodied a brief survey of the religious aspect of the aboriginal races of South Africa. The substance of this paper is that these people have in the main, common religious conceptions and in some cases similar religious rites and observances. They believe in the existence of a Supreme Being or God, to whom they attribute the establishment of the universe and the exercise of divine dispensations over it. God is a Being who lives in perfect knowledge and wisdom; a Being whose character is revealed in the elemental attributes of the universe and who is, in effect, the essence of all attributes. Every

created object manifests therefore, both the knowledge and character of God.

The Bantu regard God as an Indwelling Being within His universe and they hold that He has, in His supreme wisdom, established peculiar laws for the organizations of the course and motions of the universe; these laws are the causes of the mutual influences of the element of nature and their existence point to the existence of an object which God had in view in the initial establishment of the universe. Their observance by man, in so far as they effect his existence, is thought conducive towards the attainment of that object; but their disregard exposes man to the operation of their sanctions. It is the great law among the Bantu therefore to live agreeably to nature by yielding to the operation of its laws; to study nature in order to ascertain the Will of God. For this reason nature has influence with man although he has no influence with it. It serves as a guiding light in the regulation of his conduct in life. Their native idea of religion is that it is a principle of nature which resides within man for the correct regulation of human conduct in all walks of life. It does not require any special institution of a detached character for the purpose of giving formal instruction in its doctrinal requirement. It is conceived that its chief object is to bring into active life all the good within human constitution.

The idea of good and unselfish conduct prevails in both the social and religious walks of man, and this is an ideal which must be religiously observed of all men; it is one engraved on their inmost consciousness.

The last of the four lectures on primitive religions was that by Mr. Malcolm. It was long, informative and unemotional, but gave the impression of being authoritative and reliable. I will select one or two topics for special mention.

The Bantu of the Cameroon consider that there are two types of Deity—the good principle, called by various names, and the bad which is the personification of the soul of the tribal ancestors; this leads to the necessity of the propitiation of the evil power and the rites are numerous. Other tribes worship a multiple Deity, a number of souls. The Efik tribes of Calabar confess to several Deities but one high god, *Abasi*, is above them all. The high god created the world and deputed it to men to rule; and death came about as the result of disobedience.

The home of the dead is under the earth and the ghost takes nine days to reach its home; much of the religious practice of the tribes is to prevent the ghost's return.

The West Africans do not believe in natural death but that it is due to sorcery and supernatural sources; hence their endeavor to secure themselves against it. Mummification is in frequent use. The belief in immortality is universal, and curiously enough there is also the belief in re-incarnation. Those who, by reason of their importance, are remembered remain in the spirit world; but others who are forgotten quickly are reborn, thus providing an agonizing paradox: we remember our friends in order to prevent their return.

III. TOWARDS A PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION

The general form of the sessions of the last two days was the work of Mr. Victor Branford, one of the vice-chairmen of the committee. It reflected the attitude of sociologists towards religion as a human phenomenon and was described in the program as "Psychology and Sociology of Religion." On reflection, in spite of its general interest, I should be disposed to regard the effort as a partial statement of a philosophy of religion, though some of the elements of such a statement were necessarily lacking.

Mr. Branford conceived of the subject-matter of our closing sessions as being "approached" from several viewpoints—by a traveler, a biologist, an economist, a geographer, a psychologist, a historian, a scholar, and a synthesist—if such there be. The experiment was, on the whole, a great success and the conference exhausted itself in dealing with particulars, turned at length to the generalities of religion as a whole. The scheme was deficient in some respects—at any rate regarded as a philosophy. There could have been more psychology, more ethics. Institutions are a vital element in historical religion and we failed to include them; governments, too. Nature was finely handled by Sir Francis Younghusband in language as powerful as it was beautiful. Professor J. Arthur Thompson restricted himself to the biological part of nature, and gave a memorable lecture. Mr. Branford went back to the times of the hunter and the shepherd and discerned the origins of two types of religion: purification and self-sacrifice on the one hand, and on the other, nature-cults in which life's temptations overmaster its ideals. Thus the symbol of the good sportsman seems to displace the good shepherd!

The manner in which as a merchant and adventurer sanctified certain caravan tracks and stopping places was told in a learned paper by Professor Fleure; while to Mrs. Rachel Annand Taylor was given the task of specializing on the Sacred City—a fine theme, treated poetically rather than historically. Mr. Christopher Dawson dealt wisely with the irreligious movement of modern times as a culture force in contrast with the earlier potent religious impulses

in the making of civilizations, and warned us to beware of turning away from religion in the search for material progress. My own special task in this system was ethical, and I was privileged to depict the ideal man, as I see him, in the many religious systems we had been considering. Professor Geddes really was synthetic in that he knit together our separate specializations with one of his own: from acts and facts we pass to greater dreaming and from thence to greater deeds. Here for him the middle term is religion, intellect and poesy.

Did the conference understand? After twenty lectures on specific religions and nine on general topics, besides help from a bevy of learned chairmen, it can hardly be doubted that the conference was ready for the synthetic moral to be pointed? I think it understood.

I. "Man and Nature," by Sir Francis Younghusband

A traveller comes to regard mankind as a whole and as part of nature as a whole. And by nature he does not mean physical nature alone. In actual life the physical cannot be so separated. Nature has also a psychical side, and the physical and psychical are correlated with one another. Nature is body and mind together—not apart. And the traveller looks on nature not as static and fixed but as dynamic, as an incessant activity ever throwing up new and varied forms of which the highest is man.

The traveller, therefore, looks upon nature as a kindred spirit and meets her soul to soul. And when he has travelled in tropical forests and realized the conditions in which man first appeared, the contests and competitions he must have had with beasts and insects and climate, he sees that man from the first must have been a highly competent being—no insipid simpleton, but the triumphant victor in a million centuries of struggle. And even when he had established his supremacy he still had to struggle with nature or he would lapse back and disappear. He still had to compete with animals, birds and insects for his food and clothing. Everything he had to work for. He got nothing for nothing.

But as he wrestled with nature for her gifts he discovered that the harder he struggled the stronger he became. By exercising his faculties they became stronger and tenser. The more he tried the more he was able to do. He has to keep his body pure and fit, his mind alert and keen, his spirit fine and firm. But if with the whole of himself, body, mind and spirit, all at their best, he gets to grip with nature, he finds to his delight that he rises to the occasion, surpasses himself and sees undreamed of possibilities ahead. This struggle with nature not only sharpens his mind, it quickens his spirit. A fellowship with nature springs up. He develops needs for his soul just as urgent as needs for the body. But here again he has to work for the spiritual gifts which nature will shower on him if only he will earn them—though if he works his capacity increases.

Just as it was by his wits, and not by brute strength, that man gained his ascendancy over the beasts, so it may be by his spirit rather than by his wits that the higher man of the future will gain ascendancy over man of today. And in future when nature selects

it may be men of soul she will choose as the fittest not merely to survive but to carry out her purposes. High sensitiveness and activity of soul may be of more importance to man in his dealings with nature than acute mental capacity. The one may be needed as well as the other. But man may have to put the chief stress on refining the soul within him.

A traveller sees much of the terrible severity and apparent callousness of nature. But he goes forward in full confidence in nature. He puts his trust in her and, in spite of her severity, he loves. There is the traveller's religion. There is his faith in God. For to him nature and God are one and the same and of a lovableness beyond all possible power of expression. And, in his view, this love should be the foundation and the goal of all social effort.

II. "Harmonies and Disharmonies in Animate Nature," by Prof. J. Arthur Thomson

Historically regarded, religion has always been an appeal to a spiritual order of reality—an appeal made when man strained at the limit of his practical, emotional, or intellectual tether. Its expressions have varied according to the nature of the limit reached; thus, practically, men have sought throughout the ages for "lifegivers"; emotionally they have worshipped; intellectually they have ventured on a theology.

But the common feature has always been a tendril towards the Absolute. Likewise the religious activity has varied according to the field of experience in which man found his strain-limit. It might be in connection with Folk (e. g., family, tribe, and nation), or in connection with Work (e. g., balked endeavor), or in connection with Place (e. g., mountains, woods, sea, nature). Our problem is with religious activity that arose and arises in connection with man's experience of nature.

In the religious attitude to nature it is necessary to distinguish (1) a projection of religious experience otherwise reached, on nature, which is not in itself much appreciated, as with most of the Christian Fathers; (2) a mingling of religious experience, otherwise gained, with a strong feeling for nature, in which religious emotions may be enhanced; as with the nature-psalmists; and (3) a religious activity which springs out of the thrills and strains of nature-experience, as in the Japanese at their best.

There are many fundamental impressions of nature which prompt religious activity, whether practical, emotional, or interpretative. Thus man reacts to the forces of nature and their grip of him to the beauty of nature and other wordless voices; and to the fundamental mysteriousness of nature that remains even when he has reduced everything to the irreducibles of the day. Along these three pathways men have always become religious.

The most prominent representatives of those who have denied the possibility of a religious interpretation of nature are John Stuart Mill, William James, and Huxley, who have arraigned nature for ruthlessness, capriciousness, cruelty, a-morality, immorality, meaninglessness. It is not difficult to show that the pictures of nature

drawn by Mill, James, and Huxley were misleading; but it is more important to make a fresh picture for ourselves.

Science discloses order, unity, simplicity, and advance in nature; the scientific description becomes more and more congruent with a religious interpretation. There is a cumulative suggestion that nature is nature with a purpose. Best of all, there are certain great trends which are in the direction of what man at his best has always regarded as Progress.

III. "The Primitive Occupations: Their Ideals and Temptations," by Victor Branford

The specialism of anthropology is concerned with primitive man as he once was, as he is today in remote parts of the world and in the heart of all of us. In his natural state, this primitive man is a wild-game hunter. But the wild-game hunter inevitably becomes the man of imagination. The strenuous vivid life of the chase creates a vivid dream-life, and a realistic sense of the other world. As war-lord, the hunter comes to have his chaplain, a priest. To him is committed, as a sacred office, the task of unveiling the mysteries of that strange and alluring world glimpsed in the dream-life. There results from the meditative interplay of war-lord and chaplain a theory of religion relevant to their impulses and interests. A corresponding interpretation of the ideals that stir the inner life of shepherd and peasant emerges. What these ideals are we discover by observing that survival and success in the pastoral and agricultural regime are, of necessity, in terms of quantity and quality of life. In pursuit of life-fulfilment, first for herds and flocks and crops, and next for children, families and communities, the shepherd, and to a less extent perhaps the peasant, is ready to sacrifice things of immediate concern. Remoter aims tend to replace present interests. And that, in the language of spirit, signifies *the birth of idealism.*

The hunting interpretation of these pastoral and peasant ideals is that all such ideas and longings are matters of the dream-world,

and may very likely be realized in that life after death which is regarded as closely related to the realm of dreams.

Into our world of western humanity revolving about the twin poles of war and sport, with industry as an irksome third alternative, and religion put aside as sentimental or negligible, comes the newer anthropologist. With a freshening breath of realism he affirms that, as a matter of fact all religions are practical, and that the best of them spring from the actual life and work of shepherd and peasant, when these, in comparative freedom, develop their own mentality and express their own ideals. From the hills of Palestine for example came the pastoral ethic visioned forth as "The Lamb of God," and "The Good Shepherd who giveth his life for the sheep." And this Good Shepherd of tradition is, to the anthropologist as to the religious believer, no mythical personage but real, actual and contemporary, as one may learn from fresh gravestones, to be seen in many a hill community.

All the rural types have, each of them, their natural ethic, rising into natural religion. But it is only in the religion of the pastoral life that self-sacrifice can be seen to develop directly from the occupational disposition, into an impassioned vision of life at the full, personal and social. In other types this tendency runs less strong, indeed in a descending ratio from peasant to hunter.

Hence, two complementary systems of worship supremely represented in Hebraism and Hellenism. The Hebraic ideal looks upwards to a transcendent deity enthroned in the heavens. The Hellenic ideal looks inward to an immanent divinity quickening in the heart. These two godheads meet and mingle in the pure air of temple-crowned hilltop, whether of Hebraic Zion or Hellenic acropolis. Common to both types of worship is the religious concept of a city made sacred by long tradition of ennobled life, personal and communal.

Modern science, like ancient religion, seeks answer to the question. What is Man? Each specialism of social science if true to itself, has its own particular reply. The answer of anthropology is becoming plain. Man is a countryman. He is what he is by reason of age-long addiction to certain rural occupations. Of these the hunting occupation is one main focus and the other is that of shepherd and peasant. Round the latter there gathers and concentrates a religion of purification, ennoblement and self-sacrifice; round the former a nature-cult in which the temptations of life tend to over-master its ideals.

IV. "Holy Ways and Holy Places," by Prof. Fleure.

The paper opened with an appreciation of the work of the newer school of archaeological geographers. These researchers have revealed a story of long-distance maritime as well as terrestrial intercourse affecting the Eastern Mediterranean long before 2000 B. C., and the Western Mediterranean and Atlantic shores for almost as long. Since that remote time there have been many changes in the fortunes of routes and stations but some have persistently held men's feelings in one way or another, and it is largely from among these that the "holy ways" and "holy places" of our quadrant of the world have grown. If we try to glimpse facts relating to holiness in sites and ways we begin to find something beyond vague surmise as we come to the end of the Stone Age. Far, far back in the Stone Age men already had some dream of the personality's survival of bodily death and one stage later, still in the old Stone Age they had what must have been holy places enriched with bold frescoes and sculptures. But this has left us no tradition; it belonged to an ancient phase of life that was associated with the cold grass lands of ancient Europe. When the climate warmed up to its present condition and forests spread over the land, that old life almost vanished and another, a forest tradition evolved probably in Southwest Asia took its place.

In the old Stone Age men could ship effectively but few kinds of stone save flint and chert; when they learned to grind stone many hard rocks became valuable and questing journeys came to have great importance.

In the East we read of Abram's journey, probably as a shepherd-trader from Haran through Sichem, Bethel, Hebron, and Beersheba, and we read of the setting up of a memorial pillar in Bethel. Later on Schechem and Hebron were made sanctuaries or cities of refuge and soon afterwards Shiloh, on the same road, became a sanctuary. We thus have the *sanctity of stations along a route* and one at least has a memorial stone linked with its fame. These considerations help us to understand Mecca, a special station on the trade way northward from Arabia Felix, the land of gold, frankincense and

myrrh. To avoid some very rough areas of rocky lava north of Mecca travellers from the south descended the edge of the Arabian plateau at Mecca and reascended farther north to get to Medina. We know that the sanctity of Mecca is far older than Islam and that Islam has had to compromise here with its ideals by sanctioning reverence to the great black stone of Kaaba.

These cases have analogies with that of Santiago da Compostella, the famous shrine in the hill country of northwest Spain, the center of Santiago. St. Davids and Canterbury may be called *culture-entries from the sea.* Among other *culture-entries from the land,* may be named Kief on the way into the forest lands of Muscovy from the south or west; Sian (Si-ngan-fu) and Peking in China, and Taxila at the foot of the passes of the Indian northwest frontier. More in analogy with Mecca than with these other cities is Lhassa, the important station on the caravan route from Kashmir to China. Benares is, in part, somewhat analogously a center of Indian tradition. Indo-Aryan tradition from the bare lands of Northwest India became Aryo-Dravidian as it reached the wealth of the warm forest lands of the Ganges and the blend spread through the forests of Central India southward. Religious teaching helped to make the blends, and Benares became associated with religious tradition.

Of Rome, one may say that she attracted peoples and creeds from the ends of the earth and became a center on a far greater scale than Moscow and eventually even Christianity was captured and, as it were, domesticated there.

In the Dark Ages men recalled memories of Peace and Law, due to Rome, and churchmen who looked to Rome were then the only repositories of remnants of the ancient learning. When the light began to return in the Middle Ages the prestige of Rome was enormous and it still remains a center of sanctity to millions of men of many languages.

In such a uniquely important case as that of Jerusalem many factors have operated and the tradition of sanctity goes back at least to Melchisedek. He ruled the fortress at the side of the trade routes from Hebron to Bethel or from Bethel to Jericho, or northwards along the west side of the Dead Sea. As soon as David held Jerusalem he became interested in the building of a great temple, thus showing that the notion of its sanctity survived. These are but the groundwork of the ideal men built, especially after they were taken into exile. It became the sign of all that kept them from merging

into Gentile peoples. But just as they were getting beyond a tangible to an abstract God in their ideals, so the actual city of Jerusalem led them to the idea of the city not builded with hands.

A place may become holy through the working of many factors, spiritual and material but the appeal has to be largely a spiritual one if it is really to last. The idealization of the holy place is a general feature so that the actual place is less and less considered and its name comes to stand for such dreams as that of the new Jerusalem.

V. "The Sacred City," by Rachel Annand Taylor

The persistence and omnipresence of the idea of the Sacred City is one of the outstanding facts of history.

From the very beginnings of religion, we watch the growth and development of Sacred Cities. The necessities of worship and sacrifice created the altar and temple, and the demands of the temple in turn created the city.

The practice of magic and the influence of ritual have played a notable part in the evolution of Sacred Cities. But behind magic and ritual, the idealizing forces of imagination are ever constructively at work. Geographical factors, material conditions, as well as psychic instincts like the craving for beauty and divine romance, also play their part. The complex nature of the Sacred City and the interplay of its gods, heroes, and muses, have all to be observed, worked out, and synthesized by the student of this vast subject.

The Sacred City is a culture-city, where all sciences and arts begin, both directly as evolutions of magic and medicine, and indirectly as criticism. But it is the unity, always symbolic, though never as yet fully realized, of all these elements that imparts to a city its quality of sanctity.

Individual minds of great intelligence have tried to build the Sacred City in Utopia, altering it to the Ideal City. Both in literature and in actual experiment they have failed; because they have yielded too little recognition to the gods, heroes and muses, and to the "unconscious" in humanity. The business of those interested in the future of humanity is to sublimate its unrest by the rediscovery of the Sacred City, either by consecrating the Ideal City, or by releasing the holy places that still exist from the profanities of greed and fear.

To do this it is imperatively necessary to conspire with the principle of imaginative ecstasy, which is the equal of all religions, whether Eastern or Western. All mystics are invaluable to this social-regeneration, especially young people, women and poets, these being instinctively given to adoration and to the higher kinds of myth-making without which there is no progress, but only arrest or retrogression in the arts and the sciences upon which the life of religion supremely depends. For visionary speculation concerning the Sacred City of the future is one of the main factors of human evolution as spiritual progress.

VI. "Religion and the Life of Civilization," by Christopher Dawson

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, modern thinkers, and especially sociologists, such as Montesquieu, Condorcet, Buckle, and Herbert Spencer, failed to realize the vital part that religion has played in every development of human culture. It is only since we have begun to study with understanding and sympathy the life of peoples alien in culture to ourselves, and especially primitive peoples, that we have come to realize the full importance of religion for the history of the human race.

For it can be maintained not merely that religion is one of the principal ways in which a culture manifests itself, but that it is the dynamic force by which civilization came to be.

This is true above all of the first civilization of the world, that of the Sumerians and their neighbors, the worshippers of the Mother Goddess and her divine son Tammaz, but it also holds good of the other great archaic cultures, such as Egypt, whose whole civilization was an ordered religious ceremony, centering in the worship of the Sun God and his child, the god-king, Pharoah.

Turning away from nature, man turned away from the life of nature in search of an absolute eternal reality, of deliverance from the limits of time and change and material existence. This attitude is characteristic of all the great religions of the East, of Hinduism and Buddhism and Islam, and it gave birth to a new type of civilization, a new ethic and a new art, which have endured almost unchanged down to the present day. In the West, however, the last few centuries have seen the rise of yet another type of culture, which has attained to unprecedented power and knowledge, and

which bids fair to conquer the world. It is the first purely non-religious culture that the world has known, for it is essentially rational and humanistic.

Yet it may be questioned whether the victory of this secular culture is as certain as the scientists and philosophers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries believed. The greater the material advance of our civiilzation, the greater has seemed the danger of spiritual bankruptcy. For when the religious impulse finds no expression in the dominant culture, it is liable to turn against society and to become destructive and negative. A civilization which loses its religious foundations, and is contented with a purely material success, pays the price in the spiritual alienation of its own children.

If our civilization is to survive, a renewal of contact with the religious impulse is necessary. For if the purely religious civilization of the ancient East was lacking in the elements of progress, the material civilization of the modern West lacks the element of stability.

VII. "The Ideal Man," by W. Loftus Hare

Two main species of the ideal man were distinguished: one who occupied himself primarily with worldly affairs, the moralist, the reformer, the philanthropist and the great statesman; while the other was concerned rather with spiritual aims, some of which might even lie beyond the borders of the world. A distinction was also made between the ideal man and "real men of flesh and blood," the heroes and leaders of great causes. The real men were generated by life, the ideal man is generated by reflection on life by thought and aspiration. He is made up by the abstraction and extension of the virtues of real men and the elimination of their vices. Decorated with the jewels of perfection he radiates an influence upon the society that has uplifted him from the mass of ordinary men. His function is to uplift them in their turn. The lecturer then gave short sketches of ideal men as constructed by the great philosophies and religions taking them chronologically and passing from the Far East to the West.

The first portrait was that of the Superior Man of Confucius and the lecturer read some beautiful passages in which he is compared with the "ordinary man." Confucius argued that the life of the Superior Man is the manifestation of the universal moral order.

but he sadly confessed that in his day there was little real moral order in the world.

The less familiar man of perfect virtue was then described, who is depicted in the writings of the Taoists. He lived so close to nature that all artificiality was unknown to him, he fraternized with the animals, had no distinction between good and bad, exercised no property rights, had no fear, suspicion, memories or anticipations, was devoid of abstract knowledge, wisdom and benevelonce. All these were, according to the Taoists, the inventions of man. The man of universal love, described by Mo-tze was also referred to and the brave and patriotic Samurai of Japan. Mr. Hare also gave extracts from the Hindu scriptures describing in beautiful language the Yogi and the Sannyasin, passing on to the Buddhist "Virtuous and Well-conducted Man," who is like a medicine destroying poison of human corruption, and radiates his compassion through the world for the advantage, welfare and happiness of gods and men. The righteous man of the Ol Testament was then referred to; the word righteous must be understood in the sense of "innocent," he must have clean hands and a pure heart. The Patriarch Job is the type. Passing on to the Greeks, the lecturer gave a sketch of the just man, as drawn by Socrates and Plato, and followed with Aristotle's good man, who walks the middle path between extremes. A few words about the Roman Stoic followed and then attention was drawn to the distinguishing marks of the Christian saint. Brotherly love and labor belong to him, especially the love that disregards antipathy and triumphs over obstacles. Mr. Hare concluded the series with reference to the True Muslim, one who turns his face to God. He read from the book of Ibn Tufail, wherein is described the way in which the hero of the story, without ever having heard the Quran or any teaching from man was brought up on an uninhabited island by animals and passed through the seven centenaries of his spiritual evolution, spontaneously with no other guidance but the inner light. The romance shows therefore, that it is man's nature as created by God to seek and find. Thus in all the series of cameos, the same idea is present that religion is the assimilation of the soul of man to the universal order.

VIII. "Religion on the Map of Life," by Prof. Patrick Geddes

In this vast and varied world of phenomena which press upon us, we are emerging from babehood. In this we know enough of place, work and people to take our part; and we appreciate this, mentally also, in the measure of our senses, our experiences, and our feelings. These of course may be variously combined, as in the inherited "instincts," and the acquired "habits." In briefest summary, our everyday world may be described as that of our acts and facts.

But beyond these we have dreams, and those not only by night. Here we are concerned with the "Greater Dreams," as the everyday world calls them, and cannot but think them, since seeming so far apart from its simple world of facts and acts. And, beyond all, what of religion, with its profound and transformative emotional experience, its renewed life, its veritable "second birth," its "regeneration" as so many faiths have agreed in calling it?

Yet while this new psychic world of emotions, ideas and images tends to remain so distinctly apart from the factual folk-feelings, function-experiences and sense-impressions of the everyday world, our spiritual dreamers do not necessarily always remain retired and self-communing (or inter-communing) in hermitage or cloister. The most intensely devoted to their inner life may decisively have to leave his hermitage, his retreat of the subjective life, and go forth anew into the objective world. Yet not by any means as a mere reversion, but now to transform it, more near his heart's desire. Here then stand the religious founders from highest to simplest, even to reformers in detail. And that this endeavor is not without effect, the religions testify, as here in this conference.

The everyday life of acts and facts is thus not simply forsaken for that of "dreams"; the Great Dreams emerge into a new objective world of "Deeds."

Whatever was the final intellectual residuum left in the minds of the members of the conference, there can be no doubt that on its personal and emotional side it was a great success. The prolonged daily intercourse in the outer gallery and at tea was carried into three official receptions; one at the Imperial Institute arranged by

Lady Ron, a second by Lady Bloomfield at Claridge's Hotel, and a third by His Holiness the Khalifat al Massiah at the Ritz Hotel. There were speeches of welcome full of friendly sincerity, and we realized what a varied company we were. Hindus, Buddhists, Samijis were there in goodly numbers; there were Chinese, Japanese, Syrians, Jews, Indians, Arabian African and European Moslems, a group of Persian Shi'i and a fine body of Baha'is, Parsees, Negroes, and Egyptians drifted in. Of religionists we had all sorts: Anglicans, Roman and Old Catholics, Wesleyans, Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Theosophists, Theists, Quakers, Ethicists, Rationalists, and probably disbelievers of various types. There were French and German visitors also.

With the minimum of ceremony, Sir Denison Ross presided over our final farewell session which was memorable for its impressiveness and enthusiasm. Two speeches from Mrs. Branford and the Rev. Tyssul Davis, five religious recitations, and a benediction from the Khalifat sent us away thankful for "something attempted" and rather more than "something done."

JESUS AS A MENTAL THERAPEUTIST

BY REV. EDWARD DAY

MANY during recent times have come to feel that the narratives of the so-called nature miracles, attributed to Jesus in the gospels, are not to be taken literally, that wonderful as he was as a man, highly endowed as he seems to have been, he could not have walked on the water of a lake, could not have stilled a tempest, could not have satisfied thousands with a few small loaves, could not have turned water into wine and fermented wine at that, and certainly could not have raised the dead. They call attention to the fact that narratives of his most stupendous marvels are found in that last late fabrication, known to us more correctly as the Fourth Gospel, which manifestly was written by one who revealed no wish or effort to reproduce the actual life and thought of the Master; and they ask if it is not evident that with the passing of the years, ere the synoptic gospels reached their final phase, there was a growing disposition to attribute to him marvels of this character and if the narratives of these nature miracles do not belong to a period long subsequent to the date of his benign ministry and in consequence are purely imaginative? At the same time they remind us that most of the works of healing with which Jesus was credited in the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke are such as are wrought by mental therapeutics in our time and that in consequence they are not to be classed in the same category as the supposed miracles because they reveal no supernatural influence. Even Schmiedel in his article on the *Gospels*, *Encyc. Biblica*, col. 1884, in speaking of miracles which he is unwilling to believe were ever wrought by Jesus says: "This power (manifested in miracles of healing) is so strongly attested throughout the first and second centuries that, in view of the spiritual greatness of Jesus and the imposing character of his personality, it would indeed be difficult to deny it to him."

Hence it seems that a more careful study of everything which throws light upon the narratives of Jesus' works of healing is

demanded in the interests of sane thought in this time of exhaustive and searching criticism. It is possible, so chary have most scholars been in their handling of the biblical sources of the life of Jesus, that the full significance of certain gospel statements has been overlooked; so that we who are less hesitant and are possessed of a wider knowledge of the claims and achievements of the mental therapeutists of today are able to understand and elucidate them and in so doing may serve the cause of truth, and in serving it may reverently render the Christ himself a real service.

It appears, so we must conclude, that Jesus, much as he accomplished in this direction, was unable at times to heal the unfortunate among whom he moved. In at least three directions his work was circumscribed. This statement need surprise none save those readers of the gospels who have failed to give them the serious thought which they deserve and demand. Failing here, and taking certain general statements concerning his works of mercy to which he gave but fragments of his time not needed for his more important work as a propagandist of the glad tidings, they have thought of him as one who devoted himself almost wholly to the healing of the sick and the restoration of the maimed. So to conceive of him is to grasp very imperfectly his prophetic evangel and to give scant credit to the intelligence, common sense, and spiritual appreciation of the crowds who thronged him.

It should be evident that unless Jesus could evoke faith on the part of those who came, or those who were brought to him, or those whom he encountered as he got about, he could do nothing for them. Often, if not always, faith on the part of the one in distress was manifested or was evoked. Upon one of his visits to his home town he was able, we are told, to heal but a few sick because of the want of faith on the part of his old neighbors and friends. Their want of faith in him appears to have been shared by most of the sick and the maimed themselves. As Gould in his commentary on *Mark* (*I. C. C.*, p. 105), says in this connection: "Jesus required faith for the performance of his miracles, and that was wanting here; nay, there was positive disbelief, no mere doubt. He found elsewhere a poor wavering faith, but not enough to hinder his work of physical healing, though it kept him out of men's souls. But here the general unbelief of the nation reached its climax and prevented even this one good that his countrymen generally permitted him to do them."

Some came to Jesus so confidently, with such absolute faith in his power to heal and in his grace and willingness, that there was

immediate and glad response on his part. There was no period of probation as there was no effort to increase confidence or to seem to make sure that the one benefited would become in turn a benefactor of others. In the case of a certain blind man who lustily besought Jesus as he was entering Jericho to have mercy upon him and who in answer to the Master's query as to what he wanted replied: "Sir, I want my sight," there was the happy response. "See, your faith has healed you," followed by the immediate restoration of the man's sight.[1] When an individual leper came confidently to him, saying, "If you will, you can cleanse me," Jesus we are told stretched forth his hand and touched him, saying, "I do will it: be cleansed." Here it would seem the faith of the man was sufficient, the stretching forth of the hand and the touching of the unclean leper being in the nature of a mere act of friendliness and compassion. The woman with the hemorrage, in the plenitude of her faith in Jesus sought only to touch his clothes. for she said; "If I can touch even his clothes, I shall be healed." Having touched and knowing "in her body that she was healed of her infliction." she scarcely needed the assurance of Jesus that by reason of her faith she was made well, "Daughter, your faith has healed you."

References to the diseased as crowding about him and touching him or the fringe of his garment and being made whole must be taken as evidence of unquestioned faith on their part. When, however, the faith was wanting, or lay dormant, Jesus seems. if he found the unfortunate worthy, to have put forth effort to evoke faith. In restoring Peter's mother-in-law Jesus is said to have taken her by the hand and lifted her up, whereupon the fever left her and she ministered unto them. In healing the man with the withered hand in the synagogue there was the command to the unfortunate. "Stand up in the center," which was calculated to create a state of expectancy; then there was the question addressed to the hostile sabbatarians who were watching him, a question which secured no response on the part of the hardened Pharisees, and the further command to stretch forth the hand ere a cure was wrought. Even greater care was exercised to evoke faith on the part of the deaf and stammering man who had been brought to him. Taking him aside from the crowd, Jesus put his fingers in his ears, touched his

[1] Here and elsewhere in this paper the author follows in the main the translations of Dr. W. G. Ballantine's *Riverside New Testament* (Houghton-Mifflin Co). He does so not only because of the scholarly character of the volume, despite its modernness of phrase. but also because, being true to the original, it strongly reinforces the conclusions of this study.

tongue with spit; and looked up to heaven and sighed before he cried. *Ephphatha* (be opened), all extremely suggestive and all done apparently with the purpose of evoking faith on the part of the poor unfortunate. Quite as painstaking were his efforts to bring the blind man of Bethsaida to the point where he could heal him. In this instance he led the unfortunate outside the village and after spitting in his eyes and laying his hands on him he asked him, "Do you see anything?" Then after his reply that he saw men as trees walking, he put his hands on his eyes ere he restored him. The ten lepers who appealed to him were told to go to the priests, presumably that if they thought they had been healed they might be examined and certified to as sound of skin. It was not until they in obedience to his charge had started that they discovered they had been freed from their leprosy.

In a number of instances it would seem to have been the faith of those who stood in a paternal attitude toward the unfortunate that moved Jesus to acts of healing, though we cannot be sure that the child or servant for whom healing was sought was not in an attitude of expectancy which was favorable to restoration to soundness. However that may be, it was the faith of the one appealing to Jesus that at times seems to have greatly pleased him, as in the case of the Syrophoenician woman who came to him and begged him to cast the demon out of her daughter and in the case of the Roman centurion whose bondservant, dear unto him, was sick. In these and kindred cases it would seem, such is the character of the narratives, so fragmentary are they and so wanting in exact physiological data, that we cannot safely say that the ones restored were themselves without faith in the Master. Even the daughter of Jairus may have known why her father had left home and may have fallen into a sweet, trance-like sleep in the full confidence that the dear Teacher and wonderful Healer would soon stand by her cot.

Again it should be evident that Jesus must have conditions fairly favorable or he could not, or would not, heal such sick and maimed as came, or were brought, to him. In Nazareth upon occasion, as we have seen, he healed but a few. The very atmosphere of his native village was hostile to him. Those whom he did heal may have appealed to him because their faith rose so superior to their environment. His heart was touched. In the home of Jairus he would do nothing until the noisy hired mourners who wailed and beat their breasts were gotten rid of. Here one of the world's greatest exegetes simply notes that Jesus was *irritated* by this clamor and

wailing by those who had got on the job before Jairus could get back; while Farrar notes that this tumult "would be very repulsive to the soul of Jesus." This is true unquestionably; but it is not enough if Jesus' work was conditioned, as we believe it was, by the character of his environment. The blind man of Bethsaida was led out of the village away from its distractions ere he was restored. Jesus is said to have healed many who were in crowds who thronged him; but it is altogether probable that these crowds were largely made up of those most friendly in their attitude toward him and most desirous of seeing these works of mercy wrought. The fact is not to be overlooked that after a day spent largely in the synagogue in worship and instruction, or one spent in teaching in the open air by the sea or among the hills, Jesus had brought to him, as we are told, at evening after the sun had set, those sick and those possessed of demons whom he healed. Thus, it would seem, the Master found in the quiet and peace of the twilight hour, after the restless and hostile ones had gone, a fit time for many of his works of mercy. Fitter time could not have been found for such works. Nature herself must have conspired to assist him in this blessed ministry.

Then, finally, it should be evident that Jesus himself was not always in fit physical condition for such works of mercy. Unquestionably the gospels plainly intimate that the power by which he wrought was from God. Luke in dwelling upon the beginnings of his Galilean ministry prefaces the account of his healing a paralytic by remarking, "The power of the Lord was with him to heal." This power, as Plummer in his Luke (*I. C. C.*, p. 152), remarks, was "for Jesus to employ in working miracles." This thought of reliance upon the power of God appears most emphatically in what Jesus had to say in his defense when charged with doing what he did under the inspiration of Beelzebub. "If I am casting out demons by the finger of God." which is in substantial agreement with Matthews' report of what he says, "If I am casting out demons by the Spirit of God." In these passages in which in the English we have the word "power," the Greek has δύναμις; but in another and kindred passage in which there is allusion to Jesus' wonderful achievements as a healer, "They were all amazed at the *greatness* of God," we have in the original another and more unusual word μεγαλειότητι, which the R. V. renders "majesty"; but a word which nonetheless attributes the power through which Jesus wrought his works of healing to God. Nevertheless these works were regarded very nat-

urally as wrought by Jesus himself. We are told that at a certain time "the whole crowd tried to touch him, because power (δνύαμις) went out from him and healed them all." When the woman who had a hemorrage came up behind and touched the tassel of his cloak and was healed, Jesus exclaimed, "Some one touched me, for I know that power has gone forth from me." Hence we are forced to conclude that where there was consciousness of loss there must have been some weakening of the physical energy; and that where there were many such outputs of power there necessarily was such exhaustion as to force the Master to secure reinforcement through retirement and rest.

We are not to forget that in such a study as this we have to do with one who after all that is said of God's reinforcement of him had only a man's resources with which to face the demands which life made upon him. The use which God made of him must have depended almost wholly upon his native resources and the ways in which he conserved and augmented these. We should also keep in mind the fact that nothing which the Master did could have proved more exhausting than the cures which he wrought. Hence it is that we are not surprised to find him not only resting with his disciples at night after the labors of the day but also going to his home in Capernaum after a prolonged Galilean tour or trying to get away from the crowds by passing with his disciples across Galilee's lake into the uninhabited regions beyond, though that the crowds sometimes followed him and denied him the rest which he sought is manifest. Such power as was needed for this work, the impoverishment of which at times he seems to have felt, could not have been wholly physical, what we are wont to designate as "vital force"; and because it was not something more than rest was needed in order that he might in the plenitude of his resources face the sick and the maimed. There was the spiritual element to be taken into account. Hence his need of seasons of prayer, secured in the lonely regions about the cities and villages in which he labored.[2] Our pictures of the Master as thus engaged in prayer are as truly suggestive just here as those in which we visualize him as sleeping upon a boat's cushion while the disciples are making their way with him across the lake of Galilee.

[2] It is a significant fact that after the disciples had miserably failed to rid a boy of a deaf and dumb spirit and had appealed to the Master to learn why they had failed, he who had restored him replied, "This kind cannot come out by any means except by prayer."

So imperfect was the understanding of disease on the part of the gospel narrators that it is impossible to say in just what condition many were who are said to have come to Jesus for heal.ng. The terms used are general and vague rather than specific. The term "fever" (πυρετός, burning heat) as used in one instance is vague, coming as it does from πῦρ (fire). It may have been used of any of several varieties of fever, or presumably of the overheating of the body through fatigue which might easily have been mistaken for a fever. Those mentally unbalanced, whether the type of insanity was mild or severe, were thought to be possessed by a demon; but it is impossible to determine from the different accounts in just what condition any given unfortunate might have been. There are types of mental aberration that are very responsive to the magnetic influence of a strong personality. Such may have come under the influence of Jesus. Some of those alluded to as possessed by demons seem to have been epileptic. Only the milder cases of such are deemed curable; but even in the severer cases the seizure may be so short that its passing may have seemed like the ridding of the sufferer of his demon. If what is needed in curable cases is as Doctor Cabot declares the "simplification of environment with the diminution of every kind of strain and interest and stimulus" then Jesus may have put some such unfortunates in the way of health by engendering a state of mind conducive to a cure.

We read of those palsied who were brought to Jesus and were healed by him; but our N. T. Greek term for palsy, παραλυτικός, comes from a verb which conveys the thought of a palsied person as one "loose on one side." Hence we are left in doubt in the gospel narratives as to the extent to which the afflicted of the palsy suffered. Even in the case of him who is said to have been borne of four the condition of the palsied may have been far less severe than the friends who brought him surmised it to have been. It is natural for a simple folk to suppose their afflicted to be in worse state than they actually are. But if we are left in doubt as to the nature and extent to which these and other diseases had progressed, no less are we as to the nature and extent of the misfortunes of those alluded to as the lame, the deaf, the dumb, and the blind. Yes, even in the case of the latter, for where eyes become infected through filth and neglect, as they often do in the East those who pass for blind may not be wholly so.

Another thing which cannot in the interests of honesty be overlooked is the fact that we have no positive assurance that the cures

wrought were in all cases permanent. We know enough of mental therapeutics to be sure that in not a few instances, even where unusual power is manifested by the healer, there is bound to be a relapse, owing either to the nature of the disease, which has been but temporarily checked, or to the character of the afflicted, a period of responsiveness and elation being followed by one of depression and physical lassitude in which all that has been gained is lost. Though Jesus' ministry was confined almost wholly to Galilee and its environs and Perea, east of the Jordan, and continued but a single year, as the synoptic narratives reveal, it would seem that his works of healing were quite extended and that there was little chance of many of the relapses becoming widely known; and this is the more apparent from the fact that in most instances such as did sink back would themselves be blamed, their relapse being supposed to result from a want of faith and consecration rather than from any remissness on the part of Jesus. As another has said after remarking that, "It is also necessary to bear in mind that the cure may often have been only temporary." "If there was a relapse, people did not infer any deficiency in the miraculous efficacy of the healer."

Three things should be admitted even by the most searching critic of the gospel narratives. One is that Jesus never treated disease and physical infirmity as illusions. To him they were most manifestly and painfully real, misfortunes to be deplored and to be wrestled with heroically and persistently. No small part of the work which he delegated to his disciples, as he sent them forth on their evangelistic tours, was that of restoring the sick and the maimed; and the thing which seems to have most elated them upon their return as they rendered their report was that they had given sanity to some possessed of demons. It has become customary for the leaders of one of the Christian cults of our day who deny the existence of disease and infirmity, who declare that they are illusions, to claim that their positon here is the same as that of the Nazarene. That such have helped thousands is unquestioned; but it has not been because they teach that sickness and infirmity are illusions that are to be gotten rid of but rather because they create for such unfortunates an atmosphere of good cheer, provoke confidence, despite the falsity of their fundamental concepts, and because, perchance chiefly because, they bring their own personal energy and magnetism to bear upon the unfortunate. They help

and often cure not because of their denial of the existence of disease but in spite of it.

Another thing which must be admitted is that Jesus did have unusual power over certain types of disease and infirmities. After all allowances are made for the distortion of facts and the growth of legends there remains a considerable residuum that in all fairness should be recognized and that indeed seems to be increasingly recognized today as we witness mental therapeutists doing many of the things the Master himself did.

The third thing which must be admitted is that far more important than any cure wrought by Jesus was the daily revelation of his thought, his love, and his sympathy. His life was lived among a people most of whose teachers were arrogant and selfish. They promulgated their thought and expected men to accept and follow it. Never did it occur to them to win their hearts, to love them, perchance, into a kingdom of love. As leaders they aroused the hostility, if not the contempt, of those whom it was their business to help and encourage. Jesus won men and at the same time provoked to sane thought and to loving service. If the narratives of his work as a mental therapeutist went beyond fact those who shaped them must have known that they did not exaggerate the love and compassion of their great Teacher.

As man comes to understand himself and to care for and rid his body of disease and infirmity he may think less of the therapeutic side of Christ's ministry and will exalt him more and more in thought as a Teacher and Friend. This it would seem is what the Master himself must desire. Great as was his love and sympathy while he lived and labored he did not fail to endeavor to make men see that his ministry of healing was not his greatest nor most characteristic contribution to the life of the world. Wonderful as are the humanitarian undertakings of the Master's followers in our time they must cease as the need for them ceases; but the memory of the sane thought and sympathetic life of the Master will remain as the norm of the world's thought and life after the last sightless one has come to see, the last deaf one has come to hear, and the last fevered brow has cooled.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

VOLUME XXXVIII

CHICAGO
THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY
1924

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